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Figure 1. A schematic diagram of the experimental setup. The subject is seated in a chair, viewing a screen displaying a target. The target is a small circle. The subject's hand is positioned at the starting point, and the distance from the starting point to the target is indicated. The subject is instructed to move the hand to the target. The distance from the starting point to the target is 10 cm. The subject is instructed to move the hand to the target. The distance from the starting point to the target is 10 cm. The subject is instructed to move the hand to the target. The distance from the starting point to the target is 10 cm.

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN
GERMAN-OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

By the Same Author:

HIGHER EDUCATION IN NAZI GERMANY.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN GERMAN-OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

BY

PROFESSOR A. WOLF



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PREFACE

IN a previous book the author has given an account of 'Higher Education in Nazi Germany'. The following pages describe some of the fruits of that 'education'—the German blight on Western civilization.

The present account, like its predecessor, was prepared at the request of the Rockefeller Committee of the London School of Economics and Political Science. The full story may take some years to tell. In the meantime it will be necessary for the intelligent reading public, and especially for educationists, to know the essentials of the drama. It is the main purpose of the following account to furnish these essentials in a comprehensive yet simple form.

The author is not an 'original' Nazi historian who invents his 'data'. He has only collected and arranged them. In this work he has been helped greatly by the various authors and editors of the literature referred to in the Notes ; by the Board of Education and the Chatham House Libraries ; and in special measure by a number of continental educationists whose names it may not yet be safe to mention. He feels most grateful to all concerned.

A. W.

APR 22 1946

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE conduct of the Nazis in relation to higher education in German-occupied countries is the result of their attitude towards foreigners generally, and of their conception of the proper aim of education. The two are intimately connected, but we can deal with them separately to some extent.

Almost every nation or people is inclined to have an unduly high opinion of itself, and an unduly low opinion of other nations or peoples. The two prejudices go together, for a contempt for others is a common way of increasing one's self-esteem. Among intelligent people self-esteem is not allowed to wander far beyond the bounds of self-respect, and their attitude towards foreigners does not often sink below the level of a certain aloofness from them. With the Nazi Germans, and the Shintoist Japanese, things are much more serious. National self-conceit, and contempt for foreigners have become forms of madness—megalomania and xenophobia.

Nazi megalomania need not detain us here. Enough will come to light presently when we consider their conception of the proper education of Germans. But too much stress cannot be laid on their xenophobia—their frenzied hostility to all foreigners and everything foreign. According to one of Hitler's academic henchmen, Johannes Stein of Heidelberg, the main significance of the Nazi revolution consisted in inculcating an aversion

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from everything foreign, even when its greatness merited respect and admiration.¹ According to another Nazi writer, 'national honour' consists of a 'mystical feeling of the exclusive right of one's own tribe to live, combined with the abhorrence of the stranger'.² In fact, 'the foreigner, the stranger, is not a fellow-man' at all. Hitler himself, of course, did not mince matters. Whereas some of the more academic Nazis preached the weeding out of foreign words from German life, Hitler adopted a more radical plan. 'We shall have to develop a technique of depopulation . . . the removal of entire racial units', he proclaimed. 'Natural instincts', he asserted, 'bid all living beings not merely to conquer their enemies, but to destroy them.'³ Any German who was friendly towards foreigners, and attempted to cultivate friendly relations between Germans and foreigners, was regarded as a traitor by the Nazis, and was liable to assassination. In this way Dr. Fritz Bech was murdered, on June 30, 1934, in Munich. He had been an old supporter of the International Student Service, and had been in charge of the exchange of students between the University of Munich and foreign universities.⁴ Such is 'the inverted religion of hate' cultivated in Nazi Germany that millions of Jews, Poles, Russians, and others have been massacred in the most revolting fashion. Hitler's 'technique of depopulation' has been developed and applied with such gruesome thoroughness that even the infamous destructiveness of the Huns cannot be compared with it.

It may seem strange that the Nazis should persist with their policy of mass extermination after the writing on the wall has become clear, and the second German attempt to conquer the world is obviously foredoomed to failure. The explanation appears to be this. The Nazis calculate

that by the elimination of so many intellectuals in most European countries outside Germany, the Germans will practically have a monopoly of the professional men and technical experts required for the reconstruction of post-war Europe. By cleverly exploiting the opportunities thus afforded her, Germany, even if she loses the Second World War, will be able to win the peace once more, and will be able to prepare for a third world war with more promise of success.⁵

For something like a fitting description of Nazi Germany one must turn to Hitler's book, though the description was there intended for Russia. 'The present rulers . . . are blood-stained criminals . . . the dregs of humanity, who . . . have degraded and extirpated millions of educated people out of sheer blood-lust, and . . . now for some ten years have ruled with such savage tyranny as was never known before. . . . These rulers belong to a people in whom the most bestial cruelty is allied with a capacity for artful mendacity, and which believes itself . . . called to impose its bloody despotism on the rest of the world.'⁶

Although German megalomania and xenophobia have risen to unprecedented heights of frenzy in Hitler's Third Reich, they are not entirely new. The ground was prepared for them in pre-Hitler Germany. It is not worth while attempting here the whole story of her unsavoury past. One example will serve our purpose. In 1915 a German 'democrat' and clergyman, Pastor F. Neumann, published a book entitled *Central Europe* which planned a vast German Empire incorporating the whole of central Europe. In that same year the then German Chancellor, speaking in the *Reichstag*, unfolded the plan of such an empire extending from Antwerp to Constantinople and

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Bagdad, and from Riga to Salonika. Germans greeted these schemes with great enthusiasm.

Turning to the Nazi ideas about education, it is perfectly clear that the sole educational aim of the Nazis, so far as Germans are concerned, is to train ruthless, irresistible warriors, and to indoctrinate them with a fanatical faith in the incomparable superiority of the German 'race' and its destiny and right to conquer the whole world. Needless to say such 'education' is intended for Germans only. Other peoples must be destroyed to a large extent, and the survivors must be content to serve the Germans as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water', and 'enjoy the blessings of illiteracy'. In 1943, Dr. Robert Ley, the Nazi Labour Front Leader, boasted that between 80 and 90 per cent of the workers in many German factories were foreigners who had been imported to do forced labour for the German war machine.⁷ Already in 1942 the Berlin radio announced that 'the whole of Europe would be put under the heel of the German soldier in the event of a German victory'.⁸

As a provisional measure, some exceptions may be allowed. So long as the Germans are not sufficiently numerous to control and exploit all other countries themselves, they must avail themselves of the services of as many quislings and other traitors and gangsters in other countries as can be bribed to promote the Nazi plan of world-enslavement and world-exploitation. Such quislings may enjoy 'the blessings' of the kind of military training and indoctrination which constitute Nazi 'education'. But German Nazis are never likely to regard such quislings as more than poor relations, and, no doubt, intend to scrap them as soon as they have served their purpose.

Hitler's alliance with Italy, Japan, and other countries must not be regarded as a lapse from his 'exclusive recognition of the rights of the German people'.⁹ Like his treaty with Russia, they were never meant to be more than temporary conveniences. Indeed, he has shown himself to be a past master in the art of treachery (which he attributes to the Russians), which deliberately forms 'an alliance with a partner for the sole purpose of destroying that partner'.

The barbarities practised by Hitler and the other frenzied gangsters, especially during this war, are certainly most revolting, but they are not altogether surprising. What is much more surprising is the conduct of certain German university professors who have deliberately been carrying out chemical and surgical experiments on Jews, Poles, and Russians, degrading their victims to the level of mere guinea-pigs, and themselves to the level of savages.¹⁰

Even before the outbreak of the present World War German scientists showed their inhumanity by withholding from other countries various new drugs required for the treatment of certain diseases. Thus, for example, they kept secret the process of preparing Suronin, which is useful in the treatment of sleeping sickness, and also of atrebin, a much needed substitute for quinine.¹¹ Apparently they regarded their secretiveness as an important contribution to the winning of the war, which they knew was coming.

Nazi scientists and technical experts have also planned and constructed death-dealing devices like asphyxiating vans and chambers, and electrocution and cremation mills for the mass destruction of innocent men, women, and children. These deliberate massacres far exceed

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the devastations wrought by the Black Death. The memory of these foul deeds will damn Germany for centuries to come as the plague-spot of our age.

After this outline of the general policy of the Nazis in relation to foreigners, we may proceed to consider separately the several countries annexed or occupied by Hitler's hordes, and give an account of what has happened to higher education in each of them, at least to the extent to which the available information permits. The order of treatment follows the convenient, if arbitrary, alphabetical order of the names of the several German-occupied countries. Another arrangement might have been adopted, say, that of the historical sequence in the invasions of the various countries. For our purpose, however, very little, if anything, would be gained by such an arrangement; and the alphabetical order has obvious advantages from the point of view of easy reference.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRIA

AUSTRIA has the unenviable distinction of having produced Adolf Hitler. This was certainly a misfortune ; but it was not an accident. He was the natural offspring of a ramshackle empire in which a number of rapacious cliques sought to dominate and exploit the multitudes of many different nations harnessed together by the marriages of convenience contracted by the opportunist Hapsburgs. Vienna, the capital of this empire, was a hotbed not of one Fascist movement but of several such movements. These parties rivalled each other in their methods of intrigue, and in some details of aim ; but they were all Fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-democratic, and unscrupulous in their lust for political power. During his years of loafing in Vienna, Hitler had every opportunity to learn all the tricks of his future trade as a Nazi gangster boss ; and in his book *Mein Kampf* he refers to the Austrian Schoenerer as his forerunner.¹² In relation to higher education only two of these parties are of importance, namely, the Christian Socialists and the German Nationalists.

The German Nationalist Party of Austria was founded by Georg von Schoenerer. He had studied in Germany, and was greatly impressed by German achievements in and through the wars of 1864-70. His idea was that Austria should join Germany and share in her glory. In the course of a debate in the Austrian Parliament he exclaimed : ' If only we Germans of Austria were already

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citizens of the Reich !' To what extent 'Germans of Austria' really were German, it is hard to say. Throughout her whole history Austria was always an independent State and formed no part of Germany until Hitler annexed it on the pretext that he was restoring 'a state of unity of the German nation'.¹³ In mentality and mode of life Austrians resemble other Danubian peoples more than they resemble the Prussians. Certainly Bismarck did not respect them as fellow-Germans. In 1874 he wrote that 'if the German provinces of the Hapsburg Empire were to try by force to effect an *Anschluss*, I would declare war against them'.¹⁴ Possibly this very contempt made the Austrians (including Schoenerer and Hitler) the more determined to pose as Germans and seek union with the Reich. Anyway Schoenerer had a considerable following among the students in the Austrian universities. In 1882 the German Nationalists, at a conference in Linz, formulated a programme, the main aim of which was to secure a permanent majority of Germans in the Austrian Parliament by excluding representatives from Galicia and Hungary. Schoenerer's arrogance and quarrelsomeness soon brought him into conflict with the Vienna press. So he raised a cry against the 'Jewish press', although one of his principal helpers had been a Jew, Dr. H. Friedjung. Schoenerer had probably learned this kind of trick from the Berlin Court preacher, Adolf Stoecker, who tried to destroy Socialism by means of anti-Semitism. Thanks to his anti-Semitism Schoenerer obtained the support of many small shopkeepers, who had a grudge against Jewish pedlars. But his most important following was at the Universities, which became strongholds of Pan-Germanism, and later of Nazism in Austria.

When, in 1915, Neumann published his plan of a Greater German Empire embracing the whole of Central Europe, the proposal met with great enthusiasm among the German Nationalists of Austria.¹⁵ The principal planks in Schoenerer's platform were: Pan-Germanism, anti-Semitism, and paganism.¹⁶ Obviously he was the forerunner of Hitler. The significance of the combination of anti-Semitism with paganism was overlooked by the Catholic prelates, and indeed by Christendom at large.

The Catholic Socialist Party of Austria was founded by Karl Lueger, and developed by the prelate Monsignor Seipel, and his protégé Dollfuss. The son of a College beadle, Lueger had a good education, and entertained worldly ambitions, which were not thwarted by inhibitions exercised by strong convictions. He aspired to the office of Mayor of Vienna. To achieve this he must first win the leadership of his fellow Catholics in the capital. But he could not think of any slogan likely to win a numerous following. So he took a leaf out of Schoenerer's book, and put anti-Semitism on his banner. He was not a serious anti-Semite himself, and counted some Jews among his friends and helpers. When Schoenerer taunted him with duplicity in his relation to Jews, Lueger retorted: '*I decide who is a Jew!*'—an attitude also adopted by Hitler. From about 1898 till 1910 Lueger was Mayor and virtual dictator of Vienna. He was a great showman, and organized splendid processions on certain Catholic festivals each year—a useful tip for Hitler!¹⁷ Shortly after the First World War, Ignaz Seipel, a Catholic prelate, assumed the leadership of the Christian Socialist Party. Unlike Lueger, he was a zealot who subordinated everything to what he conceived to be the interests of the Roman

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Catholic Church. His outlook was essentially medieval. He was anti-democratic, and regarded society as a hierarchy with the clergy at the head. He became Chancellor of Austria in 1922, and remained its virtual dictator till 1932. During these years Fascist free corps, or private armies, were organized in Austria by various militarists, including Major Fey and Prince Starhemberg, rival aspirants to a military dictatorship. The Prince had actually fought with the German 'black' armies against the Poles in Upper Silesia, in 1920, had taken part in Hitler's Munich *Putsch* in 1923, was an avowed Nazi in Germany, but, like Major Fey, carried on political negotiations with Mussolini as well as with Hitler. Monsignor Seipel availed himself of the help of these Fascists and their mercenaries in order to keep down the Socialists and get rid of some of their leaders. He also tried to establish a kind of Pan-Catholic Empire—a bloc of Catholic States in Central and South-Eastern Europe.¹⁸ Seipel's activities were prompted, no doubt, by the Vatican. It will be remembered that in 1931 appeared the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* which urged all Catholics to establish a Fascist or Corporative State wherever they had power to do so.¹⁹ Seipel was succeeded by Dollfuss, who tried to carry through Seipel's plans. He came out openly as a dictator, determined to make Austria a Catholic State, under authoritarian, corporative government. In 1934 he put an end to the Socialist Party, killing many of them, and imprisoning more.²⁰ After Dollfuss had been assassinated by the Nazis, Schuschnigg, another Roman Catholic, became Chancellor, and tried to govern in the spirit of his immediate predecessors. In 1935 Hitler annexed Austria, which then became part of the German system, in the

sphere of education as well as in everything else. Cardinal Innitzer welcomed the German entry into Vienna with a 'Heil Hitler!', and a declaration that the voice of the blood urged him to join in the Nazi jubilation! So ended 'Catholic Austria'.²¹

Clearly, Austria had gone Fascist long before it lost its independence. The main internal struggles were not between Fascism and Democracy, but between three principal types of Fascism—Roman Catholic, Pan-German, and Militarist Dictatorships. And conditions in the Austrian universities and university institutions reflected the political conditions of the country. Students and teachers were for the most part either German Nationalists or Catholic Socialists; and both were anti-democratic and anti-Semitic. Catholic priests were always strongly entrenched in the educational system of Austria. Under the protection of Lueger, Seipel, Dollfuss, and Schuschnigg, clerical influence was more powerful than ever. The consequence was that, contrary to the pre-Dollfuss constitution of Austria, and even at the very time when Austria was economically dependent on the financial help and general goodwill of European democracies, various kinds of oppression were practised clandestinely at the Austrian universities and colleges against students and teachers who were not Germans by race or not Catholics. Statistical details are not available at present, but the following information is true as far as it goes.

During the period between the two World Wars, Austria provided ample opportunities for higher education. There were universities at Vienna, Innsbruck, and Graz; Technical High Schools at Vienna and Graz; Agricultural, Commercial, and Veterinary High Schools

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at Vienna ; a Mining and Engineering High School at Leoben ; and a Faculty of Catholic Theology at Salzburg. Full advantage appears to have been taken of the opportunities offered for higher education. The number of students per 10,000 inhabitants was, in 1930, larger in Austria than in any other European country—34 in Austria, against 11 in England and Wales, and 22 in Germany.²² The comparison may not be altogether fair, as Vienna probably continued to attract many students from successor States which had been separated from the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War. Certainly the University and the various High Schools of Vienna contained the bulk of the students in Austria. During the Winter Semester 1931-2 there were about 18,234 students in Vienna, about 3366 in Graz, and about 2722 in Innsbruck, an unknown number at Leoben and Salzburg, and also about 5000 in various Training Colleges for Teachers.

Of the students preparing for the legal and medical professions, and for the Civil Service, Jews formed a high proportion. Apparently Law and Medicine had no great attraction for the non-Jewish students of the Austro-Hungarian or Danubian region ; and during the Hapsburg era the non-German elements were regarded with suspicion as potential rebels in favour of Hungary or Galicia or Poland, etc., so Jews were preferred as civil servants—they could not be suspected of plotting for the independence of any part of the Hapsburg Empire. During the economically difficult years which followed the First World War people without jobs naturally envied those with jobs ; and it seemed more respectable to envy Jews than to envy fellow Christians. (Of course, there were plenty of impoverished

Jews too ; but they were just ignored.) So the rival political parties, as has already been indicated, were not slow in exploiting anti-Semitism as a political instrument, though, out of regard for decent foreigners, they usually described their movements as ' Catholic ' or ' Christian ' rather than as ' anti-Semitic '.

Thanks to the control which the Austrian Catholics, Pan-Germans, and Nazis had over the institutions for higher education in Austria, it was quite easy to carry through a Jew-baiting policy in a sly, quiet way, in spite of its illegality. The number of Jewish students was severely reduced ; no Jews were appointed to new or vacant teaching posts ; Jews already occupying academic posts were not promoted, or were gradually retired before their time, or even dismissed. It is noteworthy that such a world-famous man of science as Sigmund Freud was never promoted to the full status of Professor in the University of Vienna. Jews, however, were not the only victims. Non-Jews who were suspected of socialist or democratic leanings were treated in the same kind of way.

On Hitler's advent to power in Germany, in 1933, Nazism spread in Austria, causing a new wave of crime, and the glorification of crime among the youth of the country. Some of the Viennese students promptly discovered a new short-cut to university degrees without examinations. ' No Nazi undergraduate bothered to work for his degree ; it was much simpler to become a political fugitive through some daring explosive outrage, and rely on the *Führer* to confer the degree in reward, as was done in 1933 in Germany.' ' Even Nazi professors at the University of Vienna were in despair over the ultimate result.' ^{22a}

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After Hitler's annexation of Austria, in March 1938, National Socialism did openly and ruthlessly what Christian Socialism had been doing on the sly, and with some little regard for the foreigner. The purge of democratic and Jewish students and teachers was completed. There was another trek of robbed and destitute refugee scholars ; and many found no escape except the grave.

Higher education in Austria was made to conform to Nazi requirements. The Nazis have no use for education except as part of the war machine. The sole functions of higher education are to train technicians for the war industries, and persuasive talkers and writers to carry on Nazi propaganda, and facilitate exploitation.

Austria was promptly converted into a German arsenal. Existing factories were put to war-work, and new factories were built and equipped with machinery for war-production. Aircraft works were established in Wiener-Neustadt. Herrman Goering works were put up in Linz, whose industrial population has more than doubled since these works started operating. War factories were also built at Graz and in other parts of Austria. Hitler was preparing for war with feverish haste. More technicians were required, and existing training facilities were inadequate to cope with the requirements. The situation was met partly by shortening the period of technical training, and partly by building new technical colleges and extending old ones. In Linz a new Technical High School was established, which the Nazis claim to be ' the most modern German High School '. Its sole object is not to advance science, but to improve or invent armaments. Since the outbreak of the Second World War, and more especially since the

Allies' systematic bombing of German war factories, Austria's role as a German arsenal has increased enormously ;²³ but the fate of the Ruhr is already beginning to overtake it.

The Nazi device of educational short-cuts seems to have met with some resistance in Austria. This is clear, for example, from the following utterance by Professor Dadieu (a leading Austrian Nazi) at a meeting of students in the University of Graz : ' I follow with some anxiety regulations and developments which do not accord with the highest scientific education at our universities. Those who enter the universities must be properly selected. . . . One must encourage the talented, and raise the university standard. The shortening of the time allotted to study, and the lowering of the requirements can only be a temporary, wartime measure, not a lasting one.' ²⁴ With the continuation of the war, and its enormous wastage of man-power, higher education has seriously deteriorated. The normal student of peacetime Austria is scarcely met with now. By 1942 the male students at the universities and high schools of Austria were nearly all of them ex-soldiers who had been invalided out of the German army, or soldiers who had been given special leave to pursue some course of study of practical use for war service. Students were not free to choose their subjects of study. Such conditions do not foster the interests of higher education.

Vienna became the headquarters of Nazi East European propaganda and exploitation with the aid of certain camouflaged quasi-academic institutions. It has an Academy of Agriculture, and a South-East Co-operative Institute, the object of which is ' to increase and foster relations between the co-operative organization of Great

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Germany and those of the South-Eastern countries, and to carry out scientific research'. Then there is an Academy of World Trade which provides a two-year course for young tradesmen to qualify them for trade posts in South-East Europe. The course includes transport, commercial treaties, international payments and clearings, press and propaganda, and some East European languages. There is also an Institute for Interpreters, which provides special courses on the languages of South-Eastern Europe.

Of other institutions established in Vienna for the purpose of dominating South-Eastern Europe, the following may be mentioned: the German-Bulgarian Society, the German-Rumanian Association, and the German-Slovak Society. As additional inducements to lure Balkan flies into Hitler's parlour, Congresses and Conferences, Musical Festivals and Art Exhibitions are held in Vienna, to which Balkan representatives are invited, or in which they take an apparently active part, and are made much of.²⁵

The most curious thing about all this Viennese busyness is that all the important posts at the various institutions are held by German Nazis, not by Austrians; and all the other organizations are likewise in the hands of Germans, not Austrians. The Austrian Pan-Germans and Nazis in fact experienced a great shock soon after welcoming Hitler's armed hordes into Vienna. They had expected nice jobs for their services to the Führer. But Hitler seems to have judged his fellow-Austrians by himself, and did not trust them. An army of more than 40,000 German administrators were put in charge of Austria, and filled every post of any consequence.²⁶ Austrians had to be content with lower, unimportant

posts. But, of course, they were not exempt from serving as cannon-fodder. And some of them who returned from the front with maimed bodies brought with them a healthier outlook than they ever had before. Their Pan-German or Nazi illusions have been dispelled by their experience of German Nazism.²⁷ Some have turned anti-German, and are prepared to fight for a free and independent Austria. That there is an underground resistance movement in Austria is certain, even if its extent is unknown. The movement already has its martyrs, including some students. The names of four such students are known. They are : Rosa Hoffmann, Margareta Jost, Christoph Probst, Hedi Urach.²⁸ It is to be hoped that when the democracies restore her freedom to Austria her universities may turn over a new leaf, and cease to be strongholds of reaction.

CHAPTER III

BELGIUM

FOUR universities constitute the principal institutions of higher education in Belgium. Two of them are State Universities, namely the University of Ghent and the University of Liège; one is an independent university, namely the Free University of Brussels; and one is a Catholic University, namely the University of Louvain. The University of Brussels was governed by an independent Board. The University of Louvain was controlled by the Belgian Bishops. At Ghent, lectures were given in French; at Liège, in Dutch; at Brussels and Louvain both these languages were used. In proportion to the population of the country the number of Belgian students was one of the highest in Europe, namely 20 per 10,000 inhabitants, as compared with 11 in England and Wales, 16 in Holland, and 18 in France. These are the figures for 1930, which was probably not an exceptional year.

When the German armies invaded Belgium again in May 1940, university activities were suspended. Teachers and students of military age joined their military units; and the younger students were sent behind the Belgian lines and then to France to join the recruiting reserves. After the capitulation of the Belgian army and the collapse of France, some of the Belgian teachers and students escaped to the United Kingdom, the United States, etc. But the vast majority had no alternative

but to return to Belgium and trust the fair promises of German propaganda.

The universities reopened in July 1940 for the sessional examinations, and the new university session started in the following October. According to the Hague Convention the Belgian authorities were legally entitled to control their educational system in spite of the occupation of the country by the Germans. But respect for international law was never a German habit. Soon pressure was exercised to bring the Belgian universities under German control. The University of Louvain was the only one that was provisionally not interfered with. This was probably a small return for the political help which Fascism and Nazism had consistently received from the Catholic Church in Italy, Austria, and elsewhere, as well as from the Belgian Rexists, or Catholic Fascists, under the leadership of Dégrelle, and the Catholic Flemish Nationalists. And Hitler was still expecting more help of that kind. In the other universities patriotic Belgian administrators were gradually got rid of, and Germans or Quislings were put into places of authority. The State Universities of Ghent and Liège were put under the control of German Commissars, and the Rector of the Free University of Brussels was made subordinate to the German Commandant, Bald.

First of all came the usual Nazi purge of Jewish teachers, and others who had rejected Nazi race-theories or some other components of Nazi ideology. Among the discharged Professors were Dabin, the anthropologist ; Dehousse and Eyskens, the authorities on international law ; Dupree, the philosopher ; Van der Essen and Van Kalken, the historians ; and Vermeylen, the leader of

the Flemish Movement. Next they tried to force the universities to appoint German propagandists or Belgian Quislings (some of whom had already been Quislings during the preceding German occupation of Belgium) to new Professorships or to chairs rendered vacant by German-instigated dismissals. A number of such Nazi propagandists were installed in the University of Ghent to teach ethnology, pre-history, European history, literature, etc. The University of Brussels, however, showed fight. This Free University with its 12,500 students in the Capital of the occupied country naturally constituted a special attraction as a potential centre of Nazi propaganda. But the Governing Body absolutely refused the German request to appoint certain notorious Quislings to Professorships. Lectures were suspended. Eight members of the Governing Body (Baes, Catteau, Charlier, Cornil, Dustin, Hauman, Marcq, and Vauthier) were sent to a concentration camp. And the university was closed in November 1941. In the course of the following year the German authorities announced their decision to keep the university closed, and to use its buildings and laboratories 'for other purposes'.

The students of the University of Brussels were solidly behind their teachers and Board of Governors. The General Association of Students passed a resolution expressing their 'absolute identity of views with the members of the Board', rejecting the idea that their 'Professors should be appointed by any other authority than that of the University itself', and ending with the words, 'we are proud of the unflinching dignity of the Board, and we beg to congratulate them on it'. The Brussels students showed their spirited resistance to the Nazi régime in various ways. Already in November

1940 they staged an impressive demonstration in celebration of the 1918 Armistice. For this affront to the Germans many of them suffered various terms of imprisonment, while others were used as hostages and forced to accompany German army trains as a precaution against sabotage. Later they started an underground publication, *L'Université Libre*, in order to combat Nazi influence. On rare occasions, it seems, some of them got so exasperated with the academic traitors that the dead body of a university Quisling was found floating in one of the canals. The courageous resistance of the students in Brussels has exercised some influence on other Belgian students. The students at the University of Ghent have staged several pro-British demonstrations; and those at the University of Liège went on strike, in 1943, as a protest against the German attempt to force all first-year students to work in a labour camp. Out of some 1780 students to whom the order was addressed only 168 presented themselves at the labour registration offices; the rest went into hiding.

Besides interfering with the personnel of higher education in Belgium, the Germans also took control over the kind of text-books that might be used. They appointed a special commission to doctor existing text-books and to prepare new ones. They insisted that all educational books must show a proper appreciation of the 'New Order' which the Nazis were creating in Europe. Above all they resented the accounts given in the history books of all that Germany had done to other countries, and especially to Belgium during the First World War. They condemned these accounts as an affront to 'German honour', and ordered them to be expunged and replaced by Nazi versions. For

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the same reason numerous books were removed from Belgian public libraries.

Notwithstanding their determination to ensure respect for 'German honour', the Germans in control of Belgium gave full vent to their traditional dishonour, and the country has again suffered severely from their vandalism and their rapacity. For the second time in a generation they have destroyed the magnificent Library of Louvain, the building of which had been planned by an American architect and reconstructed largely with the aid of American funds. Of the approximately 900,000 volumes, 800 manuscripts, 811 incunabula, and 22,000 photocopies contained in the restored Library, only some 15,000 volumes and 15 manuscripts survive. The Library did not suffer destruction as the result of ordinary military operations. It was destroyed by fire during German occupation. And the world-famous Reichstag fire has sufficiently advertised the Nazi art of incendiaryism. By 1942 the Germans had already looted half the radium owned by the Universities of Brussels and Liège for the purpose of medical and physical research work; and they were busy requisitioning valuable scientific instruments and other equipment from the Belgian academic laboratories for removal to Germany.

In the field of what is commonly known as 'adult education', or higher popular education, a great deal had been achieved in Belgium during the years following the First World War. Active co-operation between the universities, on the one hand, and the trade unions and various political parties, on the other, resulted in the establishment of many educational centres where lectures were given and classes were held of the extramural type with which we are familiar in England under

the designation of University Extension Courses, or of Workers' Educational Association Classes. The German invaders, of course, promptly dissolved the old trade unions and abolished all non-Nazi political parties. But they seized the educational centres and organizations, put them under their own control, and tried to exploit them for the purpose of Nazi propaganda.²⁹

Brussels was liberated on September 3, 1944.

CHAPTER IV

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OF the succession States which came into being on the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War, Czechoslovakia was probably the most successful, certainly the most progressive. It enjoyed the distinction of being guided by a President who realized the Platonic ideal of a philosopher-statesman. In the sphere of higher education the new State made a commendable start. By 1930 the proportion of students to the population was one of the highest in Europe, namely 24 per 10,000 of the population. The country did not have to start from scratch. The Charles University in Prague is the oldest university in Central Europe. Altogether there were fourteen or more educational institutions of university rank in Czechoslovakia. These included the Charles University in Prague, the Masaryk University at Brno, the Comenius University at Bratislava, and various Technical Colleges or High Schools. Unfortunately the new State inherited to some extent the weaknesses of the ramshackle Austro-Hungarian Empire. There was, of course, no reason why the Czechs and Slovaks should not get on well together, as they were kindred Slav peoples. But the differences between them offered the Nazis an opportunity of exercising their favourite craft of sowing the seeds of disintegration by inciting mutual distrust and friction. The Germans in Sudetenland offered even greater, far greater, opportunities for mischief-making. Hitler and

his henchman Konrad Henlein exploited these opportunities with their habitual unscrupulousness. Sudetenland was turned into a Nazi outpost; and Henlein claimed for it unconditional autonomy, as a German state with racial frontiers.³⁰ Actually during the years 1919-39 the Sudeten Germans had proportionately more schools of their own, more institutions for higher education, and more funds for them than the Czechs themselves had.³¹ But Hitler's fixed idea was world-conquest; and, after his annexation of Austria, Czechoslovakia looked like the next stage on his tour of conquest. The moral condition of the rest of Europe, as evidenced by the tragi-comedy of Munich, encouraged Hitler to assume that he could seize his next victim with impunity. So in March 1939 the Germans occupied Czechoslovakia.

The educational ideal advocated by Masaryk and his colleagues was one in which *moral* training was placed in the forefront. International amity, faith in democracy, and in democratic institutions and conduct, were to be inculcated into the minds of all pupils and students. Education was to aim at moral inspiration, not merely at intellectual drill.³² Such a conception of education, such moral and international ideals only served to enrage Hitler and his gang, who promptly took measures to scrap everything democratic and humane in Czechoslovakia. Already in March 1939, when Hitler took over parts of Czechoslovakia, all schools, colleges, and universities were put under German control. Czech scientists and scholars were not allowed to have any contacts with English or French colleagues; English and French books were banned; the Press was put under the control of von Gregory, a self-confessed murderer; ³³ the theatre, and wireless broadcasts were

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also subjected to strict Nazi censorship. This blow at their freedom naturally encountered some resistance from the Czech intelligentsia. But this resistance was crushed in the most brutal and bestial fashion soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, when the Nazis no longer thought it necessary to pay any regard to civilized opinion. Here is an account of the infamy perpetrated by German *Kultur* in November, 1939 :

‘ On the night of Thursday and Friday, November 16 and 17, German troops occupied the cross-roads and many buildings in Prague. At 3 a.m. the University, the Technical College, and all the student hostels and institutes were silently surrounded and machine-guns trained on them. Then followed the assault on the sleeping, unwitting students. Searchlights were turned on, and the Germans forced the doors, in some places amid fire. They entered the dormitories with rifles at the ready. In the Svehla hostel, surrounded by guns, machine-guns, and tanks, they killed scores of students on the spot. Not until the next day were the corpses of the fallen carried off by the German police. In the Masaryk hostel in Dejvice the Germans killed the porter and fired at the students who endeavoured to jump out of the windows. The others were inhumanly beaten, loaded into thirty-one buses and carried off to Ruzyně. At Ruzyně the students were sadistically tortured. They were stripped naked, drenched with cold water and forced to lie on the bare ground throughout the cold November night. Others were forced to run the gauntlet of whips and rifle butts in the Ruzyně Cavalry School until they dropped from exhaustion of heart and lungs. Others were tied in

throes and the lobes of their ears were torn off, and their eyes beaten out with whips—the whole amid noisy laughter and the encouraging cries of German typists who watched the torture. About certain bestialities of a sexual pathological character it is impossible to speak. From the “Budec” hostel girl students were also dragged off. Surrounded by tanks they were violated in the presence of their comrades, some many times in succession. German soldiers burned their breasts with burning cigarettes. Others were compelled to drink urine, and fainted. The students had to watch. Those who cried out their disgust were immediately subjected to a new torture. One was shot on the spot, another was run through with a bayonet. When the torture approached its conclusion all had to cry in unison: *Wir danken Ihnen.*”³⁴

November 17 is now widely observed as the International Students’ Day in memory of the martyrdom of the Czech students, and of German infamy.

The students at the University of Brno, at the Technical High School at Brno, and at the Mining School in Příbram were treated in the same way as those in Prague.

All the Czech universities, colleges, and technical institutes were immediately closed, ostensibly for a period of three years. But the Nazis really intended to keep them closed for good. In 1939 they expected to be on the top of the world before the expiry of three years, and then they would do as they pleased, without anybody daring to challenge them. When after the lapse of the prescribed period, the question of the re-opening of the Czech institutions of higher education

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was raised, Reichsminister K. H. Frank answered cynically that they would not be reopened ; that if Germany won, the Czechs would not need any schools at all. So Czech higher education was suspended for the duration of the war ! The fact is that the Nazis (as is attested by an ex-Nazi) originally intended to remove the Czechs to Siberia, and to colonize Czechoslovakia with Germans.³⁵ As, however, Siberia was not yet at their disposal the Nazis devised other ways of clearing Czechoslovakia for German colonists, namely by exterminating many Czechs and enslaving the rest. This is borne out by, among other things, Henlein's speech delivered in Vienna on March 4, 1941, when he boasted that for some years past he had fooled English politicians (including Lord Runciman) by telling them that he was a good democrat and loyal Czechoslovak, only anxious to obtain justice for the Sudeten minority, whereas in reality his main aim had always been to help Hitler to destroy the Czechoslovak Republic.³⁶ In order to achieve this end the Nazis determined to liquidate all Czech intellectuals, except such as could be used as quislings, and reduce the rest to serfdom. According to a Sudeten spokesman, the Germans meant to 'smash the brains out of the Czechs'.³⁷

When the Czech higher educational institutions were closed, their buildings, equipment, and endowments for scholarships, etc., were either handed over to the German universities and colleges, or diverted to other purposes. Numerous students, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and other intellectuals were murdered, maimed, or sent to concentration camps, where they rarely lasted more than six months. Technical experts were forced to do war work for Germany. As a special act of grace a

limited number of Czech students might be allowed to go to Germany to study medicine and technical subjects, provided they knew German well, were Aryan and healthy, had passed with distinction the school-leaving examination, and were approved by the Reich Student Leader allocated to the Reich Protector's office. Those who went were soon drafted into the German army or put to forced labour.³⁸ Czech libraries, museums, laboratories, and Churches were systematically looted. The crown jewels of the Czech Kings, and other valuables were appropriated by leading Nazis.³⁹ Lands, houses, and businesses were taken away from their Czech owners and given to German settlers.

German was proclaimed to be the official language, and the order was given that all Czech children should be able to speak it by the age of twelve—to speak it, moreover, not as a foreign language, but as their mother tongue. Everything Czech was to be obliterated or forgotten. At school and in the press no reference was permitted to any time when the Czechs were independent of Germany, no reference to Czech literature, art, or invention. On the other hand, everything German was to be glorified. German history had to be falsified and embellished; and everybody was to be inspired with supreme respect for the Führer, and with entire devotion to the advancement of his New Order. Any books which did credit to the Czechs or exposed the discreditable pages in German history were rigorously banned. They were removed from all the libraries; and booksellers were ordered not to stock them. Lists of about 1500 such prohibited books were sent to all booksellers. They included the masterpieces of Czech literature. This 'index of prohibited books' was one of the many things

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which Adolf Hitler copied from the Catholic Church in which he had been born and bred.

Colonel Emanuel Moravec, the Czech quisling, and his fellow traitor, Dr. Teuner, were entrusted with the task of moulding the youth of Czechoslovakia to Nazi requirements. They instituted a 'Curatorium for the Education of Czech Youth'. They undertook to train them 'in youthful idealism, in determination, and in readiness for sacrifices in the service of the New European Order'. The training was from the first quite different from that of the Hitler Youth. Young Czechs were not at all intended to be like the 'master folk', but only to slave for them—to become 'robots for the Todt and Speer labour organizations, and cannon-fodder for the Wehrmacht'.⁴⁰ It is not yet known to what extent the quislings have succeeded in infecting the minds of Czech youth with the Nazi bacillus. But a country whose young men dared to carry out extensive sabotage against the Germans in their heyday, and put an end to Heydrich's reign of terror (May 26, 1942), in spite of the vengeance which they knew awaited them, will assuredly renew its youth in the spirit of Masaryk when the evil genius of Nazism is laid low, as soon it will be.⁴¹

Whereas the Czech areas of Bohemia and Moravia were openly annexed by the Germans, Slovakia was set up as an 'independent State'. The main object of this separation was to stimulate friction between Czechs and Slovaks, and so insure the permanent disruption of Czechoslovakia. The 'independence' of Slovakia under a puppet Government was just camouflage; for the puppet Government was at once persuaded to put the country under the 'protection' of Germany—a thin disguise for annexation. The Nazi treatment of Slovakia

was not much better than their treatment of Bohemia and Moravia. The schools were systematically nazified, and the University of Bratislava soon degenerated into a kind of inferior secondary school. It did not take long before numerous Slovaks saw through the Nazi plot, and formed their own resistance movements, or joined those of the Czechs, and fought for a reunited and independent Czechoslovak State.

CHAPTER V

DENMARK

HITLER secured Denmark without having to fight for it. King Christian and his Government did not even try to escape. The Danish Nazi party had three Members of Parliament. The political weatherglass seemed set fair for Hitler. Just for a change he may have thought he would rely on his cunning instead of on his brutality. He would try to allure the Danes, instead of forcing them to collaborate with him. Accordingly from the day of invasion, April 9, 1940, until August 1944 Denmark was treated far more leniently by the Germans than any other German-occupied country. The King and his Government were allowed to function with comparatively little interference. The German army of occupation was specially told to treat their 'Nordic brothers' decently. Denmark, indeed, was to be the show window of Hitler's New Order in Europe. During the first three years or so of their occupation of the country the Germans interfered very little with the Danish educational system; but it was just this system of education that was destined to sabotage Hitler's well-laid plans to win over the Danes to collaborate with him. The spirit of democracy and decency fostered by Danish education steadily intensified the people's resistance to Nazi tyranny and indecency.

During this comparatively free period Danish education embarked on some new experiments. In 1942 the Ministry of Education introduced into many schools

courses on first-aid and child-care, planned by the Danish Red Cross. In the following year a committee appointed by the Council of the University of Aarhus sent a report to the Ministry of Education proposing the establishment of a High School for Domestic Science, with a course of study extending over four years, leading to a diploma equivalent to a university degree.⁴²

Denmark, with a population of less than 4,000,000, has a highly developed and elaborate system of education. In 1935 it had 4233 elementary schools, 358 secondary schools, 320 junior technical schools, 21 agricultural schools, 120 commercial schools, and 3514 continuation and evening schools. Its institutions for higher education consist of the University of Copenhagen (founded in 1479), the University of Aarhus (started in 1928), the State College of Engineering (founded in 1829), the Technical Institute (founded in 1908), the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural College (1858), the Pharmaceutical College, the School of Dentistry, the Commercial High School, the Teachers' High School and 19 Normal Schools for training teachers, and a number of celebrated research institutes, including the Institute of Theoretical Physics (directed by Professor Niels Bohr, Nobel Prize-man in 1922), the Institute of Physiology (directed by Professor Arnold Krogh, Nobel Prizeman in 1920), and the Institute of Bio-Chemistry. There are also the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, some valuable Museums and Collections for students of Art or Science, and a few famous Libraries in addition to about 85 ordinary Public Libraries. Somewhere between the group of elementary and the group of higher educational institutions comes a group of schools for adult education which has probably roused

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the widest interest in other countries. They are the Folk High Schools, and are perhaps of special significance in relation to Denmark's present struggle.⁴³

Folk High Schools owe their origin to N. F. S. Grundtvig. During his stay in England, early in the nineteenth century, he learned to admire what he described as 'the free and living activity, the masterly grasp of the useful, and the clear understanding of what is really and lastingly honourable'. He was also greatly attracted by the residential Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. He conceived the idea of providing somewhat similar, if more modest, advantages for the common man, and using them for the development of a spirit of democratic freedom and civic devotion among his countrymen. He dreaded German aggressiveness. Already in 1838 he protested: 'Denmark is not an appendage of Germany, but is mistress of her own soul, and has achieved such greatness as Germany cannot match'.⁴⁴ The first Folk High School was founded in 1844 in Roedding, South Jutland, where it served as a bulwark against Germanization, and was suppressed when Germany, under Bismarck, started on her career of profitable wars, in 1864, by taking South Jutland from Denmark. Another Folk High School was opened in Askov shortly afterwards; and by 1937 there were 60 such residential schools which take men for the period November 1 till April 1, and women from May 1 till August 1; but the school at Askov also provides joint courses for men and women, and more elaborate courses extending over a period of two years. The courses provided are intended mainly to add interest to life and stimulate civic devotion. The subjects include communal singing, gymnastics, international relations, foreign languages, and world history. Each school is a

small democratic community learning practical civics. At Elsinor there is also an International Folk High School with students from many different countries. Schools very similar to the Folk High Schools have also been established by the Danish Workers' Educational Association. They cater for town workers rather than for rural workers, and are secular rather than Christian in character. The Principals and teachers are mostly stimulating personalities who try to infuse into their pupils a spirit of devotion to freedom and humanism—the exact opposites of Nazi teaching. The Folk High Schools have been and are centres of anti-Nazi resistance, and they have been ably seconded by teachers from the Universities and other High Schools. Many of the teachers have suffered imprisonment for 'prejudicing Denmark's relations with a foreign power'. But other teachers have continued their work; and the Principals of the Folk High Schools refuse to be silenced.

The effectiveness of these schools and their directors is obvious from the tribute paid unintentionally by the Nazi press in such complaints as the following: 'Nearly all the Principals of Danish Folk High Schools incite their pupils to hatred of the New Era, and in this they are supported by the democratic press, which loudly stresses the importance of the schools for the future of Denmark. Provocation against Germany and Nazism increases daily and the papers all help in spreading the hostile opinions of those Principals, who listen to the B.B.C. news and spread London gossip in practically every district in the country. Their attitude encourages persecution of Danish Nazis, whose lives are made a burden to them. Danish youth in general, misguided and misled by these false prophets in the High Schools,

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offer resistance to the ideals and opportunities with which they are presented by the New Order of the future. It is now high time to put a stop to such poisonous teachings.' ⁴⁵

In the course of 1943 things moved towards a crisis. The Danish Parliamentary elections were held in March of that year. Only the Danish Nazi Party was permitted to do any electioneering ; and the main issue was Democracy or Dictatorship. Of the total of 2,009,594 votes only 43,267 were scored by the Danish Nazis, and the number of their representatives in Parliament was not increased. The result must have been a bitter disappointment for the Germans, who feared an Allied invasion of the Danish coast with the help of Danish patriots. The Government was asked to declare a state of emergency, and to order capital punishment for resistance and sabotage. But the request was refused. The Germans then attacked the disarmed Danish military force, tried to seize the navy, which scuttled itself, surrounded the Royal Palace with machine guns, turning it virtually into a Royal Prison, and assumed full control over Denmark on August 29, 1943. ⁴⁶

Even during the period of comparative leniency there had been some German interference. The Danish press and radio had been put under German control almost from the beginning. Jews were not allowed to broadcast. Publishers were not allowed to publish books by German refugees. Booksellers and public libraries were furnished with long lists of prohibited books. Certain Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament were made to resign. The Communist Party was dissolved, and many of its members were interned. Pastor Kaj Munk, poet and dramatist, and outspoken critic of indecency, was

forbidden to lecture, and his poems and dramas were banned. Many other intellectuals, like Sorensen, the author, and Dr. la Cour, the historian, were imprisoned and persecuted. The buildings of many educational institutions were taken over by the German army or by the Gestapo. After August 1943, however, things got very much worse. The Germans ceased pretending to be decent to the Danes, and the Danes intensified their resistance to the Germans. In October 1943 the Nazis started their usual murderous campaign against the Danish Jews. The King protested in vain, but Danish officials and the people at large took their cue from him, and at great risk to themselves helped some 5000 Danish Jews to escape to Sweden, so that only about 1000 were deported by the Germans.⁴⁷ Among those who had to flee from Denmark on account of their Jewish ancestry were Niels Bohr and other distinguished teachers.⁴⁸ A caustic comment by Kaj Munk may be quoted: 'We become sceptical about the strength of German blood when we are told that it is completely vitiated in an individual who can be suspected of the smallest non-Aryan admixture through his grandmother'. In one of his last sermons, on December 5, 1943, Munk referred to the persecution of the Jews as 'revolting for Northern minds'. Early in January 1944, he was arrested by the Gestapo, and subsequently murdered by them.⁴⁹

Danish pastors, authors, and other intellectuals have taken and are taking an active share in the anti-Nazi resistance movement, though detailed information is difficult to get, and dangerous to publish. On August 9, 1944, eleven young Danes, apparently students, were murdered by the Gestapo in Copenhagen.⁵⁰ Nemesis

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overtook the Gestapo at the end of the following October. The Gestapo had their Danish headquarters in two buildings in the University of Aarhus, in Jutland, where they housed many thousands of dossiers relating to Danish patriots. With the increase in resistance and sabotage there came an intensification in Gestapo ruthlessness. It became necessary to destroy those records in order to save Danish lives marked down as the next victims. The Royal Air Force was entrusted with the task, and successfully bombed the buildings and destroyed their contents.⁵¹

Among the leading inspirers of Danish resistance must be reckoned the greatest modern Danish author, J. J. Jensen, whose book *The Long Journey* is a glorification of the will to resistance against oppression. The Swedish Academy has awarded him the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1944. The award is widely regarded as a gesture of sympathy with the Danes in their fight for freedom and independence.⁵²

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE

WHEN, in 1940, the German armies defeated France with a rapidity which dumbfounded the world, Marshal Pétain, who was largely responsible for her capitulation, explained the collapse as due to the moral decline of the French people, and prescribed a course of moral re-education. There was some truth in this diagnosis of the malady. Only the malady was not so much of the French people as of many of their politicians and other self-appointed leaders of the country. Lust for dictatorial power, or the desire to establish Papal domination over France, or fear that the Socialists under Russian influence might make serious inroads on the vested interests and investments of the rich few for the benefit of the masses, or the mere desire to be on what they expected to be the winning side, and other questionable motives prompted too many Frenchmen, including the aged Marshal himself, to say nothing about Laval and others of his satanic type, to side with the Fascists and the Nazis.⁵³ They regarded Fascist and Nazi atrocities, during the years before the war, with apathy, if not with approval, and neglected or hindered the timely preparation for curbing or destroying the forces of evil which were about to devastate China and Europe. This certainly marked a grave moral decline when compared with the days when the massacre of a few Armenians stirred the righteous indignation of European statesmen. The decline, however, was not peculiar to France. It

occurred in many other countries, not excepting the great English-speaking democracies. Isolationism, Cain's doctrine: 'Am I my brother's keeper?', was in the ascendant. When France went down, it might have been said with justice: 'There, but for the grace of God, the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean, go England and America'. In the summer of 1940, indeed, the Nazis commenced preparations for the invasion of England and Ireland, and were rather perturbed by the prospect of billeting their conquering heroes on incompetent English housewives and slatternly Irishwomen! ⁵⁴

Anyway Hitler found ready helpers in Pétain and his associates for the policy of re-educating the French people in the spirit of Nazi-Fascist principles. In accordance with the usual Nazi method of observing Caesar's dictum, *divide et impera*, France was divided into a number of separate zones, which received different treatment, in educational matters as well as in other respects.

Contrary to the terms of the armistice Alsace and Lorraine were incorporated into the Reich. The inhabitants were told that they were Germans, and must conduct themselves as such. Special courses were arranged for the 're-education' of mayors, teachers, and officials. The use of French was forbidden. Boys were made to join the Hitler Youth; girls, the League of German Maidens. As no leaders could be found for them, civil servants were compelled to send their children to Germany for training in such leadership. ⁵⁵ The University of Strasbourg was closed. In September 1940 some of the students were sent to the University of Heidelberg, some to Frankfurt, others to Karlsruhe. The Rector of Heidelberg addressed a special appeal to the

inhabitants of the city to do their utmost to make the Alsatian students feel at home there.⁵⁶ In November 1940 there was a special Nazi rally (really a military display) in Heidelberg in honour of the admission into the University of students from Alsace-Lorraine and Luxembourg. At Karlsruhe there was a special Matriculation ceremony in honour of 70 Alsatians who were solemnly sworn in as students of the Technical High School in October 1940.⁵⁷ However, the scheme to send the students from Alsace-Lorraine to German universities did not work. So it was decided to reopen the University of Strasbourg, most of the professors and students of which had gone to Clermont-Ferrand. The Führer presented RM.250,000 for the purpose. Some new Chairs were created to help in the nazification of the teaching. And the University was reopened on 23rd November, 1941. The opening ceremony consisted of a Nazi rally and an address by Reichsminister Rust, who stressed the Nazi character of the University, attacked individualism, and urged all German universities to cure Europe of individualist ideology. Apparently about 700 students joined the reformed university; but not all of them were Alsatians. Some were military convalescents, and some were medical men on leave from the army or air force.⁵⁸

In order to expedite the Germanization of Alsace-Lorraine the German authorities resorted to a variety of measures. Numerous French families were sent to the Reich, while their places were taken by German settlers imported from Germany. This, however, did not work in the way expected. It did more to de-nazify the Germans than to nazify the French. Many German settlers were consequently sent back to the Reich to be cured by the

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Gestapo. Repressive measures were instituted to de-Frenchify the people of Alsace-Lorraine. Concentration camps and prisons were filled with those who spoke French, or showed kindness to French prisoners of war, or wore a French beret, or displayed the French colours, or used French coins as personal ornaments, etc. But these measures met with considerable resistance, and ingenious methods were devised and practised to cast ridicule on the occupying authorities.

The 'honour' of being treated as Germans imposed on the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine the obligation of being conscripted for the German Labour Camps and the armed forces. Large numbers of young men (including many students) from Alsace-Lorraine evaded this call to German arms in every possible way. They fled to the south of France or to Switzerland, etc., though not a few were shot by the German sentries when crossing the frontiers. A considerable number of teachers and students from Strasbourg continued their academic work at Clermont-Ferrand, with the financial assistance of the French Government.⁵⁹

A large part of Champagne, adjoining Lorraine, had also been appropriated by the invaders. With the help of German settlers and the forced labour of French peasants and prisoners of war, this zone had been converted into a German granary, and may be ignored in relation to the question of French education. The same applies also to other 'prohibited zones', notably the Channel and Atlantic seaboard, where the Germans had been busy building the forts of the New Europe, after removing most of the French population, and commandeering schools and other buildings in order to house their robots, or even destroying them for military reasons.

The zones of chief interest in relation to higher education are the so-called 'unoccupied zone', which was for a time the domain of the Vichy Government, with Pétain as its head, and the 'occupied zone' administered by the German invaders from their headquarters in Paris. The formal separation between these two zones did not last long. It ended in November 1942, when Hitler's hordes occupied also the 'unoccupied' zone. In any case as regards educational reforms there never was much difference between the two zones. They can therefore be dealt with together.

The chief aim of the educational changes which Hitler and Pétain wanted to make in France was to wean the French people from their intellectualism, their independent thought, their democracy, and their humanism, and to lead them on the path of Fascism or Nazism. By full collaboration a new anti-democratic order might be established in Europe, in which the few would scheme and command, and the masses would obey and work. To this extent the heads of the two Governments were agreed and could collaborate to a considerable extent. But there were also important differences between the two, which Hitler was astute enough to gloss over so long as it suited him, or Pétain was sufficiently blind to overlook. Although they were both of them Catholics Pétain was genuinely religious in a mystical and perhaps foggy sort of way. He really wanted to restore the great influence of the Catholic Church which the Third Republic had destroyed. Accordingly he allowed the religious orders to resume their educational work, and helped them with financial grants. Hitler remained a Catholic only in the sense of being a Jesuit, and an extremely base type of Jesuit at that. He did not dream

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of allowing France to exist as an independent sovereign State. He deemed himself a god, a most jealous god to boot ; and he was determined to treat France as a subject State to be exploited in any way that suited his extravagant ambitions. Sooner or later the two men were bound to fall out ; and it was obvious that, unless others intervened successfully, all real power would be retained by the Austrian rogue. The end of the world-struggle is not yet. But it is safe to say already that the Frenchman who has undergone the greatest re-education is Pétain himself. Before leaving Vichy, in August 1944, a prisoner of his German collaborators, Pétain wrote a farewell message to the people of France, apologising for his doings during the past four years, and giving them a veiled encouragement to follow De Gaulle.⁶⁰

We may now turn to some of the educational reforms introduced in France after the armistice of June 1940. Higher education, including secondary school education, was deliberately discouraged, by the re-introduction of the payment of school fees which had been abolished by the Republic. Class-consciousness was fostered by having different schools for the working classes, for the children of peasants, and for the middle classes, whom it was intended to inspire with a sense of superiority over the others. A Government-controlled Students' Union and Labour Camps on the German model were established, so that French youths might be indoctrinated with Fascist dogmas, including Nazi race theories, etc., and be trained to collaborate loyally with their German conquerors. The universities and colleges were purged of Jewish, democratic, and liberal-minded teachers. Through the intervention of some influential collaborators, Bergson and five or six other Jewish professors were asked to

retain their posts, but they declined to accept the offer.⁶¹ The number of Jewish students was limited to 3 per cent. of the total number of students, and all Jews were ordered to wear a six-pointed star (the 'star of David') made of yellow cloth and with the word 'Jew' in black letters. In protest against this medievalism many Christians wore yellow and black handkerchiefs outside the breast pocket in imitation of the Star of David.⁶²

Long lists were circulated of 'forbidden books', which had to be destroyed on pain of severe penalties. These lists included many text-books on history, geography, etc., which contained passages offensive to the Germans. Orders were given for the preparation of new text-books, in which the significance of the Revolution of 1789 was to be explained in a proper anti-democratic spirit, the German invasion of Belgium in 1914, etc. etc., was to be dealt with in a manner creditable to the Germans, and as discreditable as possible to 'perfidious Albion', and to Bolshevik Russia. Many chairs of English and American civilization were abolished. In their place chairs of Ethnology, of Judaism, etc., were established in order to teach Nazi racial theories, and to intensify anti-Semitic propaganda. The teaching of English was permitted. English, indeed, continued to be a popular subject. But the teachers of English were warned by the Minister of Education to discourage every tendency towards sympathy with Great Britain. The advice, however, was wasted. The teachers acquired great ingenuity in teaching what they were forbidden to teach, for they were ably and loyally supported by their students who could correctly grasp veiled suggestions which the teachers dared not state explicitly.

The nazification of French education was held up by

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various circumstances. French teachers delayed writing the required new text-books. Such new books as were ready could not be printed on account of the great shortage of paper. So the old text-books continued to be used longer than suited the Nazis. There were also other difficulties, some of which will be indicated presently. The fact that during the two years May 1940–May 1942 there were six different Ministers of Education is evidence of the obstacles or the resistance which the nazification of French education encountered. The first five Ministers (Rivau, Mireaux, Ripert, Chevalier, and Carcopini) were academic men. The sixth (Bonnard) was not a university man at all. His mentality may be gauged by the following pronouncement which he published in May 1942 : ‘ Of all the idols which we must shatter there is none that it is more urgent for us to get rid of than this Descartes whom we have been taught to regard as the best representative of the French spirit : he must be thrown out of the window ’.⁶³ Evidently this Minister of Education resented Descartes’s view of the intimate relation between existence and thought (*cogito ergo sum*) ; for Vichy France could only *be* so long as the French did *not* think. The rejection of rationalism and universalism was necessary for the revival of feudalism and bigotry which the Vichy Government aimed at.

In order to control education more effectively the Government assumed the powers to appoint Deans of the various Faculties (instead of the previous practice of allowing the teachers in each Faculty to elect the Dean), and to appoint and dismiss university teachers. Numerous professors were dismissed, including the Dean of the Faculty of Arts in Paris, the Dean of the Faculty of Science at Clermont, and the Dean of the Faculty of

Medicine at Lyons. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Caen was deported to Germany. The Dean of the Faculty of Laws at Grenoble was murdered.

Notwithstanding the risks involved, teachers and students co-operated in a remarkable way in order to counter the attempts to nazify them. In public they were usually reticent so as not to rouse suspicion. In the classroom the teaching was carried on more or less in the normal way, as though the new regulations did not exist. The teachers could rely on the students not to betray them. Many of the dismissed teachers were helped financially by the teachers who still carried on ; and some of them even continued to teach in their homes, where the students went for instruction.

University professors and students, with the co-operation of the European Student Relief Fund, also rendered valuable assistance to many foreign students who were stranded in France or had sought refuge there. These included Bulgarians, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, and of course many Jews from various countries. Committees were set up in Toulouse, Grenoble, Lyons, Marseilles, Montpellier, and Clermont-Ferrand to help these students to continue their studies, and as far as possible to save them from concentration and labour camps. For the benefit of some of the harassed refugee students a special Home (Maison des Roches) was opened in Chambon-Sur-Lignon, but had to be closed, in 1943, after little more than a year's good work.⁶⁴

In 1943 the Nazis took brutal steps against the Strasbourg professors and students, who in 1939 had transferred their work to Clermont-Ferrand. They killed one of the professors, arrested the others, as well as all the students, and subsequently deported fifteen of the

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professors and forty of the students to Germany. Two other universities (Aix-Marseilles and Montpellier) were closed by them early in 1944. The Teachers' Training Colleges were all closed long before that. Vichy intended to enlist teachers from the anti-democratic secondary schools. The way in which 'education' was made to serve political ends was shown in September 1942 when the Vichy authorities offered to confer the degree of *Bachelier* on students who had failed in the examination, if they volunteered to join the 'Anti-Bolshevik Legion'. To counter this kind of prostitution of academic degrees, many French students petitioned the National Committee of French Liberation in Algiers to prepare the necessary measures for redressing these abuses, by cancelling degrees and certificates awarded in such a way. The National Committee referred the problem to the University of Algiers, which is the seventeenth French University.⁶⁵

It would have been most unnatural if French students did not sometimes feel it imperative to give vent to their feelings against the Nazi-Vichy régime. There have been some public demonstrations by the students in Paris and Grenoble, and probably in other university towns. Strongly worded protests have been sent to the Vichy Government by many associations of students. And numerous students have joined the Maquis and other resistance movements. The full story is not yet known; but the following account of the experiences of one such student is well worth quoting.

'The student was a young man with delicate hands and a thin, sensitive face. He had a small red scar on his neck where a machine-gun bullet had grazed him when he escaped from the German police. He told me

the story in a voice so soft I had to strain to catch the words. Last summer he was captured by the Gestapo and questioned as to the name of the leader of his organization. He refused to answer, so they beat him for a week. He did not remember much about it, he said, for he fainted many times ; what impressed him most was the fact that all the time he was being beaten a German woman secretary stood in the room smiling. When these tactics failed to make him talk the Gestapo adopted other methods. An officer with a flattering voice complimented him on being a true French patriot, and said he was sure the trouble that had arisen between them was only a question of misunderstanding. If the Frenchman would realize that Germany was bringing new benefits to France he was certain their personal difficulties could be smoothed away. With this effort unsuccessful, a third officer took charge. This time the argument was " realistic ". If he would give the information that was wanted 5,000,000 francs would be deposited to his account in a bank in Switzerland. When he refused once again the officer told him he was a fool and no more time could be wasted on him. He was flung back into his cell and condemned to death. . . . His escape, he said, was arranged by his wife. When she learned that he had been condemned to death she went to the German commandant and told him she was expecting a baby. Then she began to lie ; tearfully she claimed that she was unmarried, and although she was glad that the scoundrel responsible was soon to be shot, she was anxious to give her child a name. Would it not be possible for the commandant to arrange her marriage with the man before he was killed ? The German finally consented, and orders were given to bring the

Frenchman to the police station. He was put in a truck with thirteen other prisoners, and on the way from the gaol a party lying in ambush, headed by his wife, "hijacked" the lorry and shot the Germans. All the prisoners escaped.

In the field of educational equipment, as in every other field, the Germans never missed an opportunity of grabbing loot. In Paris the Nazis established a special agency, under the direction of Herr Fuchs, to deal with libraries. The Gestapo raided numerous libraries, including the various Masonic libraries, and the library of the Cour de Cassation, and helped themselves to whatever was worth sending to Germany. Among the treasures looted was the entire library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, which was sent to Frankfurt-on-Main.⁶⁷ The full extent of the losses which the educational institutions of France have suffered in this way, including the removal of laboratory equipment, cannot yet be estimated; but it must be immense. To this must be added the destruction of, or damage to, numerous school and college buildings.

The liberation of Paris took place on August 25, 1944.

CHAPTER VII

GREECE

THE Greeks may well claim the distinction of having been the pioneers of human freedom, more especially of spiritual freedom. This glory, however, only provoked the concentrated hatred of the Fascists and Nazis and their satellites against Greece. After swallowing Albania with impunity on Good Friday 1939, Mussolini Caesar turned his greedy eyes towards Greece. Roman cohorts had once conquered Greece. Yet captive Greece had captivated her captors ; and the literature and philosophy of Italy were deeply in debt to the superb art and thought of the Greeks. The ' bullfrog of the Pontine Marshes ' had no feelings for things of the spirit ; and his resentment was only inflamed by the ignominious defeat which the Greeks had inflicted on the Fascist hordes when they first attempted to invade Greece in October 1941. So the sham Caesar invoked the aid of the Nazi gangsters and the barbaric Bulgars in order to annihilate Hellas, body and soul.

Greece was divided into three zones, controlled respectively by the Bulgarians, the Germans, and the Italians. Western Thrace, Eastern Macedonia, the islands of Thasos and Samothrace, and Salonika, to some extent, constituted the Bulgarian sphere. Central Macedonia, the islands of Lemnos, Mitylene, Chios, and Crete, and to some extent Salonika were in German occupation. The rest of Greece, and the remaining

islands were under Italian control. The Germans, of course, were the predominant partners.

The Bulgarians practically annexed Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. All the schools in these regions, the University of Salonika and the local Technical High Schools were closed. The teachers were expelled. The buildings were turned into barracks or stores. Greek youths were conscripted for the Bulgarian army, or for war work in Greece or in Albania. The use of the Greek language was forbidden—even Church services had to be conducted in Bulgarian, and the Greeks were forced to Bulgarize their names. Landed property was extensively expropriated, their owners and other inhabitants were either exterminated or starved or expelled and replaced by Bulgarian settlers. In short, the Bulgarians applied in Greece the same methods which the Germans applied in Poland.

In the German and Italian zones conditions have not been quite so bad, though bad enough. Long before the war the Germans and the Italians had established schools in Athens as centres of propaganda. They now tried to nazify Greek youth. Many of the Greek schools remained open, and continued to function more or less under great difficulties. German and Italian were made compulsory subjects, and the teaching was made to follow Nazi or Fascist plans. The University of Athens, the High School of Commerce and Economics, and the Engineering College also continued to function for a time, though many of the professors and students were expelled or even imprisoned for refusing to collaborate with the enemy. Professors and students constituted a favourite source from which the occupying powers drew hostages. But resistance was offered nevertheless. On

October 28, 1941, the anniversary of the Italian invasion of Greece, thousands of Athenian students marched in procession from the University buildings to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Italian soldiers tried to stop them, but were thrust aside. Wreaths were placed on the tomb, the students knelt down, and a short address was given by one of them who had been crippled in the Albanian campaign. In consequence of this demonstration there were more arrests, and more restrictions on the conduct of the University. Still the students were not cowed. On March 25, 1942, Greek Independence Day, the students staged another such demonstration. Thereupon the University of Athens was closed. So now both universities were closed ; and higher education was practically suspended for the duration of the war. Numerous teachers and students have been massacred as hostages ; and many more have been sent to labour camps or to war factories in Germany and Italy. As a lure for potential quislings, forty-five scholarships were offered by the Italian Government to enable as many Greek students to study at Italian universities.⁶⁸

To add to the Greek tragedy, famine was widespread, and schoolchildren and students were among the worst sufferers from this spectre. The presence of three hordes of 'locusts' (as the Greeks call the invaders) was the main cause of the trouble. Something was attempted to alleviate the situation. The European Student Relief Fund with the co-operation of the Red Cross and others organized a Student Canteen in connexion with the public soup kitchens. There were 15,000 students enrolled in the University of Athens in 1942. When the University was closed about 10,000 preferred to remain in Athens rather than return to their country homes,

where conditions were even worse. Only one meal a day could be provided for them, and that was a very meagre one, with very little or no fats. Next to nothing could be done for more than 300 students who were either already tubercular or going that way as the result of under-nourishment. Milk and other dairy products, as well as medicines, were very scarce.⁶⁹ Deep anxiety is felt even now about the possibility of help arriving in time to save the young generation.

The 'locusts,' as usual, also plundered whenever they had a chance to do so. Rare and valuable manuscripts were removed from Mount Athos and other monasteries. Old marbles, coins, and other antiquities were taken away. Libraries and scientific laboratories have lost much of their most valuable equipment.

However, Greece is rapidly emerging from her darkest days. The Bulgarians have been vanquished by the Russians ; and Athens, Salonika, and the rest of Greece have been liberated with the help of British and Allied armies. Time was when Hellas saved Europe from the ancient barbarians. The European democracies could never do too much to save her from the modern barbarians. Her courage in the days of old has been the perennial inspiration of the ages which followed. Her fight for freedom against the Fascist bullies and their fellow gangsters has been worthy of her ancient glory.⁷⁰

For European statesmen there is an important moral. If in accordance with Lord Curzon's policy, in 1922, Britain had insisted on the restoration of the Dodecanese Islands to Greece, the Italian Bullfrog might have croaked more but he would probably have ventured less ; and the world might conceivably have been spared its present blood-bath, or at least part of it.⁷¹

CHAPTER VIII

HOLLAND

DURING the pre-war years Holland, like so many other countries, favoured isolationism. This was perhaps natural, though shortsighted, in countries that had escaped invasion during the First World War, and consequently expected to do so again. Dutch intelligentsia was rather inclined to keep aloof from politics. The younger people who were preparing for professional careers tended to be more interested in the promise held out by their rich empire across the seas with its opportunities for civil servants, engineers, and other professional men and technicians, to say nothing of business men, than in the plottings and schemings of their German neighbours. The Nazis, however, did not neglect Holland. By diligent propaganda and extensive bribery they succeeded in winning over a certain number of Dutch quislings, whom they intended to make use of, and eventually did make use of in their bid for the New (German) Order in Europe. Moreover, they managed to infect the minds of many Hollanders with a fascist bias, even when it did not assume a form favourable to the Nazis. Already in 1931 a Dutch National Socialist Movement was initiated by Mussert, an engineer who was a fanatical Nazi. Rost van Tonningen, a Dutch Labour leader, Dr. Goede-waagen, and van Dam, Professor of German in the University of Amsterdam, were also ambitious Nazis. But in addition to professed Nazis there were also other fascist movements in Holland, though opposed to Nazis

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of the Mussert type. There was the so-called National Front, led by Arnold Meyer. It consisted mainly of authoritarian-minded Roman Catholics. There was also the Netherlands Union, with a membership roll of about 800,000. It was definitely anti-Nazi, but equally definitely authoritarian and corporative.

Hitler could not hope to rule the whole world, or even all Europe, without some non-German collaborators—at least not until the population of Germany had increased enormously ; and this would take some time. And he felt justified in expecting full co-operation from the Dutch. So he assured them that he regarded them as a Germanic people, and, after his demonstration of Nazi frightfulness in Rotterdam, he proceeded to show some consideration for the Hollanders in the hope of securing their loyal collaboration. Dutch soldiers who had been made prisoners of war were set free. A Civil Administration was established in the Netherlands, in place of the purely Military Administration in other occupied countries. Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian traitor, was put in charge of the Civil Administration. Of course there was also a Military Administration, under General Christiansen ; but this did not interfere in civil matters except in cases of sabotage. In 1942 Mussert was appointed Führer of Holland, under Seyss - Inquart. Earlier already several of Mussert's lieutenants were appointed to important posts, and several hundred of his followers were made burgomasters after a short course of training for their new duties. Goedewaagen had been entrusted with a new Department of Propaganda already in 1940, and did his utmost as an imitation Goebbels. Van Dam was made Secretary General of Education as a reward for his treachery. The Dutch press was not

subjected to censorship ; but the same result was achieved by dismissing all anti-Nazi editors and putting Dutch Nazis in their place. The Nazis also took over the control of all the Dutch broadcasting companies.

Hitler, however, was destined to be disappointed. When the storm broke over Holland the people were galvanized. The devotion to freedom which had inspired their forefathers to resist Spanish tyranny over a period of eighty years was reborn. The intelligentsia was roused from its political indifference and has played a leading role in circumventing in every possible way the knavish tricks of the enemy.

In the fight against the new tyranny the University of Leiden, the oldest and most famous of Holland's nine universities, played a part worthy of an institution that was born when the right to freedom was wrested from the Spanish oppressors. In November 1940 the professors protested against the dismissal of their Jewish colleagues. So a number of professors were arrested, and the university was closed. The Nazis proposed to put in its place a full-fledged Nazi university to teach their faked racialism, falsified history, predatory geopolitics, lawless government, State-sanctioned immorality, and loyalty to Hitler and his New Order. But the plan did not materialize—there were not enough academic quislings in Holland to staff the proposed university, in spite of the internment or imprisonment of numerous professors by way of coercion or reprisal. For a time the other Dutch universities carried on more or less, though under great difficulties. People were disposed to put up with a great deal in order that a sufficient number of young people should be trained to satisfy the needs of a liberated Holland. But conditions grew more

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and more intolerable as time went on, and Germany's need of trained men and of slave labour grew more and more urgent.

The Nazis also planned a number of *Reichsschulen* modelled on the former Prussian cadet schools. The staff was to consist partly of Dutch and partly of German teachers; and German as well as Dutch students were to be trained in these schools. The object was to provide political leaders who would wean Holland from her independence and merge her in the Greater Germanic Commonwealth of Hitler's New Europe. The plan, however, came to nothing.⁷²

In December 1942 Van Dam announced at a meeting of Vice-Chancellors that about a third of all the university students would be called up for service in Germany. The Vice-Chancellors strongly protested against the proposal, and refused to take part in its execution. When the students heard of it, they decided to go on strike. But as the term was practically at an end, nothing was done. After the Christmas vacation only a small number of students returned to the universities. But when nothing happened during the following few weeks, the majority of the students resumed their studies, hoping for the best. Then suddenly 600 students were rounded up in the classrooms and sent to the concentration camp at Vught. It happened on a Saturday, otherwise there would have been more students at the universities. Three days later there was another raid. Only 200 were caught this time, as the students had been warned, and had made themselves scarce, showing themselves neither at the universities nor in the streets, and avoiding even their homes which were searched. Higher education thus came to an end for the time being.

Attempts were made to get over this impasse by some kind of compromise, but in vain. On March 10, 1943, Seyss-Inquart decreed that only a limited number of students would be allowed to complete their courses at the universities, as it was necessary to secure 'the complete mobilization of all resources—including academic youth—for the European struggle against Bolshevism'. Van Dam went one better by declaring that permission to study would be granted only to those who solemnly declared in writing that they would 'carry out honourably and conscientiously the orders and regulations issued by the occupying power and the Netherlands authorities and refrain from any action directed against the German Reich, the German military, or any Netherlands official institutions'. The Dutch Minister of Education, in London, issued through Radio Orange a warning to Dutch students not to sign the 'declaration of loyalty'. The Principals of the Calvinist Free University, in Amsterdam, and of the Catholic University, in Nijmegen, declined to circulate the 'declaration' forms. After the lapse of the period fixed for signing the 'declaration of loyalty' it was found that only 10 to 15 per cent. of the students had complied.

Some of the professors at the University of Gröningen declared that van Dam's differentiation between students who had signed the 'declaration of loyalty' and those who had not done so was legally unjustified, and consequently refused to hold examinations for the sole benefit of those who had signed. Two of the professors (de Haan and Vos) were arrested, and two others had to go into hiding as a result of their protest.⁷³

On May 5 a decree was published summoning all students who had not signed the declaration to a concentra-

tion camp at Ommen for deportation to Germany. Following the usual Nazi use of hostages, a threat was added that parents would be held responsible for absentee students. About 40 per cent. of the students presented themselves at Ommen, and were sent to Germany, where the students of chemistry, of medicine, and of engineering were put to work in their special subjects, while the rest had to join the ranks of slave labour in the factories, etc. It may be mentioned that about the same time (April 1943), all Dutchmen between the ages of 18 and 35 were called up for labour in Germany, and that the ex-prisoners of war, who had been set free in 1940, were ordered to return to internment. It is estimated that about 600,000 Dutch people have been deported or imprisoned—including about 5000 students, 30,000 prisoners of war, 400,000 working men, 120,000 Jews, and 2000 in concentration camps.⁷⁴

We may revert for a moment to the above-mentioned concentration camp at Ommen in order to relate some strange things reported later by some of the Dutch students who had been ordered there for deportation to Germany. When the students arrived at Ommen those not of 'Germanic' race, were sent home again. The others were exhorted to be especially nice to German girls. When the students arrived in Germany they were placed in a camp adjoining a camp of the 'League of German Maidens'. On one occasion the 'maidens' visited the men's camp uninvited, and were turned out by force. Later some Dutch students were billeted on young German war widows. It seems that Dutch students were wanted by their Nazi taskmasters not only to work for them but also to help maintain the Teutonic race, to provide for future cannon-fodder. It may be recalled

that there are several dog and horse breeders among Hitler's counsellors.

In March 1944 the Principals of the Dutch universities sent a courageous letter to the Secretary General of Education. They urged that higher education in Holland could be restored only on three conditions—namely, the withdrawal of the prescribed 'declaration of loyalty', the return to Holland of all students working in Germany, and an amnesty for all students who had gone underground rather than submit to be transported to work in Germany. The Principals also referred to the conditions in which Dutch students had to live and work in Germany: long hours of heavy physical labour, meagre rations lacking elements essential to health, and cruel punishment for slight offences. The results were: general physical deterioration, disease, and death.⁷⁵ The treatment of Dutch students in Germany was even worse than the Principals were aware of. This is evidenced by the following account given by one of twenty-eight students who had been interned in the concentration camp at Maltshauern, and were used by German scientists as human guinea-pigs, in near-by gas-chambers. 'The gas chambers were the size of a large living-room, and had three windowless concrete walls. The fourth was of thick glass, facing a passage where chemists and psychologists gathered to watch the experiments. Twenty-eight of us were herded into this room without our clothes and made to stay there for a quarter of an hour wearing just gas-masks. Intense prickling of the skin set in. We were then given a strong chlorine shower bath. Three weeks later we were forced into the gas chamber again under similar conditions, and this test also lasted a quarter of an hour. Ten of the victims this time

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developed bad sores. The third time only fourteen of us were sent in, but on this occasion we were not allowed gas-masks, and had to stay in the chamber for half an hour. Grilles in the floor, which had previously been covered by iron plates, were this time uncovered. After a few minutes we all began to turn dizzy. Gradually we lost our sense of balance and fell down in huddled heaps. We were eventually carried out by laboratory assistants who wore anti-gas suits, gas-masks, rubber gloves and shoes. Photographs of our lungs were taken. For four days the dizziness continued, but all the while we were forced to do heavy labour in the camp.' ⁷⁶

In a speech delivered by Seyss-Inquart, in May 1943, he asserted that most of the 4000 Dutch students who had then been deported to Germany were medical students, and that they were working in hospitals. On the same occasion he attacked the Dutch doctors who had refused to take up work in Germany. They had been invited to go to Germany, ostensibly to look after the health of the Dutchmen who had been taken there to do forced labour. But the doctors knew that this was just a pretence. So 5000 out of the 6000 doctors in Holland signed a letter of protest declaring that the actual intention of the Nazis was to force them into the service of 'a country with which Holland was still at war'. ⁷⁷

The Nazi war against Dutch intellectuals went on unabated. In January 1944 taking advantage of the attempt on the life of Diedderix, chief of the German-controlled labour exchange, the Nazis arrested Professors Cleveringa, Flu, and Blok, of the closed University of Leiden, as well as 50 other inhabitants of Leiden. Professor Cleveringa had incurred the wrath of the

Nazis by his outspoken protest in November 1940, against the dismissal of his Jewish colleagues, and had been interned in a concentration camp until 1943.⁷⁸

Nazi oppression naturally prompted widespread attempts to escape from it and to resist it. This took the form of an underground movement known as the *Onderduikers*—those who duck or bend in order to parry a blow, or maybe ‘divers’. (Reference may also be made in this connexion to a pictorial tile, produced in Holland during the War, in which a scene of waving corn on land and a storm at sea has inscribed round it, in Dutch, the wise saw: ‘If you can bend like the corn, you will not break in the storm’.)⁷⁹ In this underground movement Dutch students took a leading part. We have it on the authority of the Leader of the Dutch Nazi Student Front that among terrorists sentenced to death ‘the number of students is very high’.⁸⁰ The total number of *Onderduikers* must have been enormous. They included numerous students, a great many ex-soldiers who had been liberated from detention as prisoners of war, in June 1940, by ‘the magnanimity of the Führer’, but were ordered back to prison in April 1943, a considerable number of active underground workers, all the young people who had refused to go to Germany for forced labour in war factories, and about 10,000 Jews. Holland has no ready hiding-places—there are no mountains to which to escape. Concealment from the Nazi bloodhounds is therefore mainly a battle of wits—effacing trails, and giving false scents. Hence the frequency of bold and dangerous raids to secure blank identity cards and ration cards, or to destroy registers of identity cards. In this work of confounding the Nazi administrators of Holland, valuable aid was given

by the Royal Air Force on April 4, 1944, when they bombed a certain house in the Hague and destroyed the central register of identity cards of the whole population of Holland, as well as lists of Dutchmen who were to be deported to Germany.

One of the most interesting activities of the underground students was connected with the publication of a secret paper named *De Geus* ('The Beggar')—in allusion to an incident which occurred about 1566, during the Dutch struggle against Spain, when a plea for stopping the Inquisitors' massacres of the Dutch was dismissed by a member of the Regent's Council with an expression of contempt for 'these beggars'. ('The Beggars', it may be added, was promptly adopted as the name of the resistance movements against Spain both on land and at sea; and the 'Sea Beggars', by blockading the Spanish fleet in Dutch waters, helped in the destruction of the Spanish Armada, in 1588.)⁸¹ Among the contents of *De Geus* during 1943-4 special mention may be made of a discussion, by representatives of all the nine universities, on problems of reconstruction of higher education in Holland when this war is over; and a debate on the position of those students who had signed the van Dam 'declaration of loyalty'. The overwhelming majority expressed themselves in favour of cancelling the examination certificates and degrees obtained by the 'loyalists' during the years of enemy control. When the legitimate authorities resume control over Holland, as they are likely to do soon, they will know to what extent they should punish those who yielded to *force majeure*, or dispense with available help in the urgent work of reconstruction.

During the years immediately following the First

World War, Dutch scholars, prompted by a humane spirit, showed much friendly consideration for German scholars and students. They little suspected what serpents they were taking to their bosom. They will know better this time !

CHAPTER IX

ITALY

ITALY went Fascist long before Germany went Nazi, though the change in either case was only the culmination of many years of subversive agitation. The relation between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany has been different at different times. Italy has been successively Hitler's model and inspiration (such as the Pope wanted it to be to all Catholics), an antagonist (in relation to Austria), a partner in the scheme of world spoliation, and finally a victim like any other German-occupied country, with the only difference that in this case the occupation was preceded by a co-aggression pact, instead of the more usual non-aggression pact.

Hitler, like other Austrian Fascists, probably learned a good deal from Mussolini, allowing for the natural affinity between the devil and his disciple. Mussolini had nothing but contempt for logical consistency or ordinary moral decency. A socialist one day, he turned anti-socialist the next day. Anti-monarchist at one time, he turned monarchist at another, and anti-monarchist subsequently. An ardent follower of President Wilson at one period, he attacked him soon afterwards. A supporter of d'Annunzio for a time, he betrayed him presently. And so he swayed from one attitude to its opposite: from atheism to religion; from anti-Popery to Popery; from Communism to Fascism; from philo-Semitism to anti-Semitism; from the provocation of strikers to the denunciation and breaking of them; from the evasion

of military service by flight to singing the praises of military life ; from the preaching of peace to the glorification of war.⁸² The one stable thing in his unstable world was he himself—nothing mattered so long as he got on. He admitted, or even boasted, that he had ‘ no genius for private friendship ’,⁸³ so he had no compunction about plotting the assassination of people who had befriended him.⁸⁴ He knew how to fool crowds of credulous people by a thumping display of feigned sincerity. He acquired the art of silencing opponents by letting loose on them hired dare-devils—the *Arditi*, the first ‘ blackshirts ’.⁸⁵ He also re-discovered the old magic of overthrowing strongholds by furiously blowing his trumpet. In all these ways Mussolini was the archetype of Hitler.

The same is true of Mussolini’s attitude towards education. What regard for education could be expected from this ruffian ? ‘ School-going used to be an exceptional social phenomenon ; now it has become the usual thing. We must make it the exception once more ’.⁸⁶ The only use he had for schools and colleges was to train obedient Fascists to carry out his orders without hesitation. He had no difficulty in finding time-serving professors to plan for him a system of education of the type required, and writing verbose books purporting to vindicate Fascism as a ‘ complete doctrine of Life and the State ’. The transformation of higher education in the universities of Italy was carried into effect by Professor Giovanni Gentile, a renegade disciple of Croce. The main changes were introduced in 1923 (soon after the constitution of the Fascist Government) and 1927. All Principals (or Rectors) of Universities and Deans of Faculties were to be nominated by the State. Professors

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were to be appointed by a rather complicated procedure. The relevant Faculty was to submit fifteen names to a Commission of five appointed by the Minister of Education. The Commission was to select three of the fifteen names ; and finally the Faculty was to choose one of the selected three names. In practice it would all be State-managed. In fact the whole system of education was to be put under the unified control of the Minister of Education ; and the aim of education was to be the promotion of the political, economic, and technical needs of the nation. As the State and the Nation were identified with the Fascist Party, the whole system of education was made strictly Fascistic. Hence the mention of politics as the first of the aims of the new education. Teachers and students were brought into the Fascist scheme. All professors were compelled to take an oath of allegiance to the Fascist State. Croce and twelve other professors refused to do so, and retired from their posts.⁸⁷ As a reprisal for his attitude, Croce's valuable library was wrecked by Fascist hooligans. But for the consternation which this caused throughout the civilized world, the greatest living Italian philosopher might have fared worse. A National Association of University Professors was constituted as part of the National Fascist Party. A new Faculty of Fascist Political Science was created at the University of Perugia ; and new Chairs for Fascist Studies (including Racialism, Amoralism, etc.) were established at most of the Italian universities.⁸⁸

Italian students did not need much persuasion to become Fascists. They were, in fact, largely responsible for the spread of Fascism in Italy. Nevertheless Mussolini took no chances. A young swashbuckler, Signor Muti, was put in charge of the students for the express

purpose of persuading them to uphold Fascism. Fascism was to be the sacred religion of all Italians, and Mussolini its Prophet. Castor oil and bludgeon were the normal sanctions of the new religion ; and there were rewards for the loyal—lucrative posts in the Party machine. The Fascist administration created about 150,000 bureaucratic posts, which easily absorbed all new university graduates. When the slump came many of them were discharged ; but by then the Duce was, or appeared to be, firmly in the saddle.⁸⁹

Comparatively soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, Mussolini, consistently inconsistent, joined Germany against the Allies on whose side Italy had fought in the First World War. It did not take very long for the Fascist machine to betray its inefficiency. Among other results, higher education in Italy suffered. In order to keep pace with the growing need of trained men, educational short-cuts were introduced, and degrees were conferred on the strength of perfunctory oral examinations.⁹⁰ Worst of all, Fascist incompetence provided an opportunity for Nazi interference in Italian affairs. Though nominally partners, the Italians came to be treated more or less as if Italy were one of the German-occupied countries. When Mussolini fell from power, in July 1943, the Germans made it quite clear that Italy, or at least as much of it as had not yet been liberated by the Allies, really was occupied by the Germans, whose brutality and vandalism ceased to be restrained by any pretence of friendship for Italy.⁹¹

In September 1943 the Nazis decreed that 'German shall be Italy's only official language'. On September 12, 1943, the Library of the Royal Society in the University of Naples was wantonly and systematically set ablaze

by the Germans before evacuating the city, about a fortnight before the Allies liberated it. The National Library of Naples would have met with the same fate if its contents had not been removed some time before and stowed away in various monasteries. On September 30, 1943, the State Archives of Naples and the contents of the Filangeri Museum, which had been stored for safety in the Villa Montesano at Livardi, near Nola, were deliberately destroyed by a German incendiary squad specially detailed for the purpose. 'The registers of the Hohenstaufen and Angevin Kings of Naples, of the Kings of the House of Aragon, of the Spanish and Austrian Viceroys and of the Bourbon dynasty, records of European history ranging from the year 1239 to 1811 perished almost without exception, as did the civic and monastic charters going back to the eighth century. Between sixty and seventy paintings were lost, including an early portrait of Botticelli and a Madonna and Child by Luini'.⁹² In May 1944 some American officers found, in a church wrecked by shell-fire, many rare books which the Germans had looted from the University of Naples and temporarily stowed away in that church. When they were evacuating San Gimignano the Germans turned their guns on it and destroyed it, although the place was so rich in architectural treasures that the whole of it was rated an Italian national monument. From San Pietro, at Fondi, the Germans removed many of the furnishings, and even stripped the monstrosity of the high altar of its silver ornaments. At Velletri they carried off pictures and the contents of the Treasury of Santa Maria del Trivio. On the Tribunale they ripped the brocade coverings off the chairs, slashed the paintings in the Cathedral with knives, and sacked the Seminary

attached to it. At Itri sacking and vandalism resulted in what the monuments and fine arts officer described as the worst mess he had ever seen. From the looting of Naples onwards the story is one of incessant robbery and spiteful devastation.⁹³ What would Goethe have thought of his countrymen's *Italienische Reise* ?

The extent of Nazi loot and wanton destruction in Italy cannot yet be estimated. But it is known that Ribbentrop had long ago organized battalions of art connoisseurs whose special function it was to ascertain the location of all the most valuable works of art and to appropriate them for the benefit of the *Herrenvolk* and their new Robber-Barons.

Rome was liberated on June 4, 1944 ; and the liberation of the rest of Italy is proceeding.

CHAPTER X

LUXEMBOURG

THE Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was seized by the German hordes on May 10, 1940. The educational system of the Duchy used to be bilingual. Everybody was taught both French and German, but French received more attention, and was the predominant language. However, the widespread knowledge of German among the population of Luxembourg was used by the Nazis as a pretext for asserting that the people of Luxembourg were really Germans by race and language, and that it was only through the machinations of the Great Powers that the country had been separated from Germany. The natural thing, according to the Nazis, would have been for the people to want to be reunited to the Fatherland. But they wanted nothing of the sort. So the Nazis, with the aid of a number of quislings, initiated a German Racial Movement (*Volksdeutsche Bewegung*—V.D.B. for short) to teach the Luxembourgers the way they should go. At the head of the movement was Professor Kratzenberg, a Nazi of German descent. As it failed to attract many members, the familiar Nazi methods of threats and penalties, blackmail and bribery were freely used to coerce the Luxembourgers to join the V.D.B. 'voluntarily'.

In the meantime Luxembourg was annexed to Germany. The constitution of the Grand Duchy was abolished; its Chamber of Deputies was dissolved; the civil service was absolved from their oath of allegiance

to the Grand Duchess ; the very name ' Grand Duchy ' was interdicted ; and the use of French was forbidden. German soldiers, German police, and German officials took over the administration of Luxembourg. German currency, German rationing, and German taxation were extended to Luxembourg ; and the industries, the mines, and the railways of Luxembourg were put under the control of Germans in or from Germany. All the cultural, political, and religious associations in Luxembourg were disbanded, and their assets appropriated by the Nazis.

Among the privileges conferred by the Germans on the Luxembourgers on their ' voluntary reunion with the German Fatherland ' was, of course, the privilege of conscription for the German army. No sooner was the annexation of the Grand Duchy proclaimed than four classes of young Luxembourgers were called up for German military service. To resist this, a general strike was staged. Reprisals followed quickly. Many Luxembourgers, including numerous teachers, were shot. At Esch-Alzette 105 scholars of the Industrial School and 60 women students from the High School were arrested for their participation in the strike or in the hostile demonstrations, and deported to Germany.

The whole system of education was, of course, put under the control of the Nazis, and directed solely to the training of obedient Hitlerites. Young people were taught extremely little, and that little was taught in the perverted Nazi way. Physical exercises, marching and singing, and Hitler-Youth activities took up practically all their time and energy. No one was allowed to take the school-leaving examination unless he had been a satisfactory member of the Hitler Youth. Higher educa-

tion practically ceased to exist in Luxembourg. Several High Schools were closed. The Episcopal Seminary was removed to Trier, in Germany. Study at a university was permitted only to those who could satisfy the German authorities that they were good Nazis. In that case they were allowed to study at a German university. Even so they could not choose their university, but had to go to the institution to which they were allotted, and share the privilege of doing Labour Service there, usually under conditions of bondage. What was intended to happen to the young Luxembourg women who went to German Labour Service, or to Labour Camps, is only too clear from the following official pronouncement issued for their benefit: 'Be proud to be allowed to come home to Luxembourg as German mothers'.

The Nazi attempt to Germanize or nazify the Luxembourgers was not for a long time conspicuously successful in spite of all the ruthless efforts of Gauleiter Simon, his Gestapo, and his other henchmen. In April 1942 the Gauleiter's chagrin prompted him to utter the taunt: 'Do the Luxembourgers want to be the last believers in a British victory?'. Well, they did. In this faith they, and many students among them, endured imprisonment and torture at the hands of the Gestapo in the Villa Pauly, but continued to resist as best they could. Their faith was eventually justified; and they were able to say *Bon soir!* to their fleeing oppressors without fear of punishment for the breach of one of the innumerable decrees with which Nazi lawlessness has flooded Europe. Luxembourg was liberated on September 10, 1944.⁹⁴

CHAPTER XI

NORWAY

IN the case of Norway, as in the cases of Austria and Holland, its usurpation by Germany had been carefully prepared by a Nazi movement (the so-called National Union) which had not been taken sufficiently seriously to be suppressed by the Government. It was founded, in 1933, by Major Vidkun Quisling, who has the damnable distinction that his name has become the universally adopted designation for every traitor who prefers the showy trappings of illusory place and power under a foreign usurper rather than remain a decent, if humble, citizen of his own native land. The size of the Union was never sufficient to secure even a single representative in the Norwegian Parliament ; but it was sufficient to facilitate the betrayal of Norway to Hitler.

The Germans invaded Norway on April 9, 1940. For two months the small Norwegian army fought the well-prepared invaders, but was forced to capitulate on June 10. The struggle, however, was continued under the inspiration of King Haakon and his Government who, on the invitation of the British Government, established their headquarters in London. More than 1000 Norwegian ships and 30,000 men joined Britain and her Allies to continue the fight against Hitler, whose losses in men and ships during the invasion and conquest of Norway were far greater than he had anticipated.

In spite of the difficulties caused by having a small population spread over a large country, Norway had

developed a thoroughly democratic and efficient system of education. Primary schools, which were the same for all social classes, were linked up with a great variety of other schools, according to the capacities and tastes of the pupils ; and everybody had a reasonable chance of obtaining the kind of education or practical training for which he or she was best suited, almost without regard to the economic position of the parents.

In the field of higher education the country was well equipped, considering the size of its population. There was a university at Oslo, with a teaching staff of about 250 and more than 4000 students in 1939. Plans were being considered for the establishment of another university, in Bergen, but had to be abandoned for the time being on account of the war. In addition to the University of Oslo there were the following 'High Schools' of university rank: the Technical High School, in Trondheim ; the Agricultural High School, at Aas, near Oslo ; the High School for Dental Surgery, in Oslo ; the Veterinary High School, in Oslo ; the Commercial High School, in Bergen ; the Bergen Museum, which was a centre of research ; the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences, in Trondheim ; the Institute for Comparative Research in Culture, in Oslo ; the Christian Michelsen Institute of Science and Intellectual Liberty ; the Bergen School of Meteorology ; the 'Congregational Faculty', or Lutheran Theological College, in addition to the Faculty of Theology in the University of Oslo ; and the Central Training College for Teachers, near Trondheim. The proportion of students pursuing higher education to the population of Norway was remarkably high—about 20 per 10,000.

Quisling was in a hurry. Already on April 9, 1940, he

formed a 'National Government' with himself as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He met with such resistance from the civil service and the police that he and his 'National Government' withdrew after a week. Hitler then appointed Terboven, former Gauleiter of Cologne, as Commissar in Oslo. Several attempts were made by him as well as by General von Falkenhorst, the Commander-in-Chief of the German army in Norway, to come to terms with some of the accredited leaders of the Norwegian people. But nothing came of these attempts, as the Nazis were obviously dishonest. Eventually, on September 25, 1940, Terboven decreed the abolition of the Norwegian Monarchy and Government, and forbade all activities in the interests of either. He dissolved all political parties except the 'National Union', which was made the 'State Party'. And he appointed thirteen Commissars or 'Ministers' of the various State Departments. The Ministers were all Nazis. The Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence were abolished. Norway was made a German province. The real control of Norway was centred in Berlin, in the 'Central Office for Norway', which was directed by Dr. Stuckart, who had already engineered the annexation of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. On February 1, 1942, Quisling was made titular 'Minister President' of Norway, a mere marionette manipulated by Terboven or Stuckart.⁹⁵

The Nazis expected that the Norwegians would not only submit to their absorption by Germany but that they would take an active part in promoting the creation of the New Order of Europe to the glory of Greater Germany. Germans have long been notorious both for their over-estimation of themselves and their obtuseness to the feelings of other peoples. Conceit led them to

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imagine that the Norwegians would feel flattered by being described as 'Germanic'; obtuseness made them ignore the natural patriotism of others. After the First World War many Norwegians, stirred by feelings of pity for the deplorable condition of the undernourished German children, invited large numbers of them to Norway where they looked after them with care and gave them new life and health. By the time of the Second World War many of these foster-children had grown into robust Nazis, and were included in the ranks of Norway's invaders. Some of them, it is related, expected to be received with open arms by their former foster-parents, and were vexed when they were cold-shouldered! Such is German psychology.

The resistance encountered by the German invasion of Norway seriously upset Hitler's time-table, and made it all the more urgent to nazify the country as soon as possible. In one way or another the Norwegian press, the broadcasting stations, and the cinemas were placed immediately under Nazi control; publishing houses and bookshops were ransacked and everything anti-Nazi was eliminated. The whole education system, however, was at once the chief fear and the chief hope of the Nazis—fear, if allowed to continue its democratic inspiration; hope, if it could be converted into a means of training Nazis. The educational struggle was a struggle for Norway's soul. The Norwegians fully realized this. They had seen what had happened in Germany. And they resisted with courage and determination. Teachers, pupils, and parents all played an honourable part in the fight to save the soul of Norway.

We may begin with the University of Oslo, which fought the first round in the educational contest, eventu-

ally went down fighting, but still managed to continue the resistance in various ways. When the Nazis occupied Oslo, on April 9, 1940, many of the students escaped to join the Norwegian fighting forces. So the university was closed, and did not reopen until long after the armed resistance had ceased. At the beginning of the new session, in September, the University Students' Union decided to force into the open the mysterious designs of the Germans. A mass meeting was quietly and discreetly called for September 21, ostensibly to debate the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905. According to Nazi propaganda it was British intrigue that had put King Haakon VII on the Norwegian throne in 1905, and virtually made Norway a British Protectorate (presumably because King Haakon married Princess Maud, daughter of King Edward VII !). The theme was therefore regarded as affording a subtle opportunity for a demonstration of the students' devotion to the King. The principal speaker at the meeting was Dr. Scharffenberg, a distinguished septuagenarian ; and the chair was taken by John Sauness, President of the Students' Union. Dr. Scharffenberg maintained that King Haakon was the living symbol of the Norwegian people's determination to recover their freedom and independence. Strong protests were made against the German attempts to depose the King. As the climax of the meeting, 800 students rose to their feet and solemnly vowed to remain loyal to their King, whatever the consequences. Five days after this demonstration of loyalty to the King, Dr. Scharffenberg and John Sauness were arrested, for having staged this ingenious protest against Hitler's 'New Order'. On October 11 the Students' Union was dissolved by the Nazis.

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For a time the Germans tried to nazify the university by degrees. During the session 1940-1 they appointed a number of new professors and lecturers to teach the usual sham 'sciences' of the Nazis, and to try to indoctrinate or to infect the students with the Nazi world views or so-called 'philosophy'. They also attempted to secure the collaboration of some of them by means of bribes, and to silence the rest by means of threats. Some attempts were made to interfere with the university's autonomy in the appointment of examiners, etc. But Professor Seip, the Rector of the University, with the support of the professors and students, managed to foil these attempts. The lectures of the Nazi teachers were boycotted by the students. Nazi students were cold-shouldered. In May 1941 the Norwegian Association of Scientists and Scholars, representing forty-three national organizations, protested to the Nazi authorities against the policy of nazification. Hitler's patience, as happened so frequently in his relation to others, was exhausted. Reprisals were planned accordingly.

On September 10, 1941, using as a pretext some strikes among the factory workers in Oslo, a state of emergency was proclaimed by the Nazis, who promptly shot two labour leaders and imprisoned many others. The occasion was used also to arrest Professor Seip and several other professors. The Rector was put into the concentration camp at Grini, and was later deported to a concentration camp in Germany. His place at the university was taken by a quisling, Ragnar Skaucke, the Nazi-appointed 'Minister' of Education. The method of terrorization was having full play.

For a time Oslo University continued its work, though under great difficulties, and with occasional 'incidents'.

In the summer of 1942 the quisling Ministry of Education decreed that in future the admission of students would be decided by the candidates' attitude towards the New Order. The teachers of the university and of other institutions of higher education threatened to resign if this and certain other arbitrary interferences were persisted in.⁹⁶ So the matter was dropped. In February 1943, when universal labour conscription was introduced, the Oslo students were ordered to register at the Labour Exchanges. The students protested, and many of them were arrested as a reprisal. In August of the same year the quisling Ministry of Education renewed its attempt to control arbitrarily the admission of students into the university. The purpose of this policy was to introduce into the university a number of fanatics and criminals who had been fighting for Hitler on the Eastern Front and had been thoroughly brutalized there. The teachers made a strong protest and threatened to resign. While Skaucke was negotiating for a compromise, the Gestapo stepped in. During the third week in October eleven university teachers and sixty-eight students were arrested. The other teachers and students sent a written protest, and demanded the release of those arrested. But the Gestapo continued to make more arrests. The climax was reached on Sunday, November 28, when a kind of 'Reichstag Fire' was staged in the University Hall, and charges were invented against 'Communist elements among the students'. Two days later the Gestapo, having posted machine-guns at strategic places, surrounded the University buildings, the National Hospital, the Students' Hostel, the libraries, laboratories, and museums, and the Science Faculty buildings just outside Oslo. Teachers and students found in these buildings

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were arrested. The Gestapo also rounded up many students in the streets or in their homes. Altogether about 80 teachers and 1200 students were seized. They were taken into the University Hall, where the Gestapo chief, Rediess, harangued them on their wickedness in resisting the occupation authorities and the Quisling Government, and then announced that the University would be closed, the men students would be deported to a special camp in Germany, the women students must go home and report to the local police, the loyal (*i.e.* quisling) students would be able to continue their studies at Bergen or Trondheim. Another 200 students were arrested during the two days following, and at least one student was shot dead by the Gestapo during their man-hunt. The Nazi-staged fire in the University Hall had, however, warned some students of the coming danger, and patriotic policemen had warned others. So about 1700 students escaped or went into hiding. About 30 of them arrived in Sweden after an exhausting journey on skis.⁹⁷ The 1200 students who had been lectured in the University Hall were sent by train to Larvik, at the mouth of the Oslo Fjord. Arriving there about midnight they were marched seven miles in the snow to a camp at Stavern, where the only means of warming them was 'Prussian Drill'. On December 9 about 300 students and more than 800 other political prisoners were sent in a prison ship to Germany. On January 8, 1944, another 350 students were deported to Germany, making a total of 650. Many of the other arrested students were detained in Norwegian concentration camps, as were also many of their teachers. What the treatment of prisoners in German concentration camps is like the world knows only too well.

Events in Oslo roused a storm of protest in many countries, even in satellite Hungary, but especially in Sweden, with which country Norway had been united until 1905. The University of Uppsala closed for a day, and the students staged a mass demonstration of protest. In Stockholm 7000 students organized a torchlight procession, went to the German Legation, where they sang the Norwegian national anthem, proceeded to the Norwegian Legation, where they delivered a message of sympathy, and then laid down their torches on the roadway to form a giant V.⁹⁸ Even the Swedish Government sent an appeal to the German Government on behalf of the Oslo professors and students. Ribbentrop replied that Sweden had better not meddle in German-Norwegian affairs. But the Swedish Government declined to accept this view. They replied that events in the neighbouring Scandinavian countries, with which Sweden is united by innumerable ties, must affect the Swedish Government and people ; and such actions as those against Oslo might effect a deterioration in German-Swedish relations.⁹⁹ As the German Government was anxious at the time to conclude a trade agreement with Sweden they made a concession. Some of the teachers and students in Norwegian camps were released,¹⁰⁰ though not a few of these appear to have been arrested again when the trade agreement had been signed.¹⁰¹

So the most important institutions of higher education in Norway were closed. In March 1944 even the Oslo Theological College for training clergymen was closed. Norwegian students, however, had carried on a courageous and effective resistance. To this resistance the Nazi papers in Norway have unwittingly paid eloquent tribute when they asked : ' Who can say that he knows one

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single student who has not distributed illegal newspapers or taken part in underground activities against the occupation authorities? No one !' ¹⁰² And the students continued to resist.

During the period when the University of Oslo went through the tribulations described above, similar treatment was meted out to the rest of Norway's educational system, and it encountered similar resistance through the united determination of teachers and pupils, pastors, and parents.

The conflict started during the winter 1940-1, when the quisling Minister of Education, Skaucke, issued new decrees intended to mould the school system to the requirements of Hitler's New Order. According to these edicts the teaching of German was to replace that of English, all English books were to be banned, all textbooks on history, law, etc., were to be revised in accordance with Nazi ideology, and special lessons were to be given in Nazi doctrines. As a symbol of the proposed revolution in education the portrait of Quisling, Hitler's Norwegian underling, was to be hung in all classrooms. This attempt at the nazification of Norwegian schools led to widespread school strikes in February 1941, which were partly precipitated by the repeated instances of brutal behaviour against pupils and teachers by members of the *Hird*—Quisling's thugs, similar to Hitler's stormtroopers. These strikes in Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim took Quisling by surprise, and he was not yet prepared to deal with them. For a time, therefore, the new regulations were allowed to fall into abeyance.

In February 1942 the policy of nazification was taken up again. In order to nazify the teachers, a 'Teachers' Front' was set up under the leadership of Orvar Saether,

formerly leader of the *Hird* ; and in order to indoctrinate the pupils with Nazism, a kind of Hitler Youth Movement was organized, and all young people between 10 and 18 were ordered to join it. The 'Teachers' Front' was likewise made obligatory for all teachers. In fact they were automatically made members of the Front, and told that those who resigned from it would be regarded as having resigned their teaching posts. The bishops, headed by Bishop Berggrav, of Oslo, strongly protested against the attempt to deprive parents and pastors of the duty to teach the children the way they should go. As for the teachers, 12,000 out of Norway's 14,000 declined to take any part in educating youth according to Nazi principles. This time the Gestapo took a hand. In the course of March and April some 1300 teachers were put into concentration camps, where the Commandant told them that 'if they thought that a bunch of filthy Norwegian school teachers could set themselves in opposition to the New Order in Europe they were making a big mistake'. Some 500 of these teachers were subsequently put into the hold of an old steamer, the *Skjarstad*, under conditions which earned for it the name of 'The Floating Black Hole of Calcutta'. They were taken to the Arctic port of Kirkenes, where they had to do hard labour under unspeakable conditions—loading and unloading cargoes seven days a week, grossly underfed, in ragged clothes, and brutally beaten by the German guards. But they did not give in. In a letter smuggled out to a friend one of them wrote : 'If I had ten lives I would gladly sacrifice them all to prevent one youth from being brought up in a way that would make them like those at whose mercy we have been placed'.¹⁰³ It looks like a stroke of dramatic justice that Kirkenes was the first

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Norwegian city to be liberated from the Nazi thugs (on October 25, 1944). Inspired by the example set by their 500 colleagues the Norwegian teachers persisted in their resistance to nazification. By May 1942 the quislings were compelled to yield to the extent of not trying to enforce all their objectionable decrees, at least temporarily; and the teachers at Kirkenes were allowed to return to their homes after six months of torment.

In addition to these terrors, Norwegian education had also to contend with other hindrances, more especially the commandeering of numerous school buildings for German use as barracks, hostels, and stores. But, despite official bans, the teachers, assisted by parents and pastors, continued their work by teaching small groups of pupils in private houses. And the common struggle to save the soul of young Norway has forged new bonds of solidarity between teachers, pupils, and parents.

CHAPTER XII

POLAND

IN September 1939 Germany seized some 74,000 square miles of Polish territory inhabited by over 22,000,000 people. An approximately equal area, inhabited by over 13,000,000 people, was taken over by Russia. About half of the German-occupied territory was annexed to Germany by a Nazi decree, and the rest was provisionally described as a kind of Polish Reserve or 'General Government', but it was administered by Germans, under Governor-General Frank. Later on, when Hitler went to war against Russia, the Soviet part of Poland was handled by the Germans in the same way—part of it was annexed to Germany, and part to the General Government. By July 1943 more than 15,000 Polish cities and towns had been given German names in place of the Polish names ; and in May alone of the same year the names of 1200 railway stations in Poland were changed to the nearest equivalent in German.¹⁰⁴

The savagery let loose against the Poles was a record even for the Nazis. The reason for this was partly general—the centuries-old German hatred and exploitation of the Poles. In part, however, it was probably due to the special circumstances and events which preceded the German invasion of Poland. As the most Catholic country in Europe, if not in the world, Poland was specially sensitive to the Vatican propaganda in favour of the corporative State ; and readily went Fascist under Marshal Pilsudski and his camarilla. Polish treatment

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of the Jews, the Ukrainians, and White Russians was quite after Hitler's own heart—in fact, for its short life, the new 'Polish Republic' must hold high rank in the annals of oppression. There seemed to exist, therefore, considerable affinity between Nazi Germany and Fascist Poland.¹⁰⁵ The two countries actually formed an alliance. And Hitler may have expected to have quite an easy task to secure Polish submission and even co-operation, if required. In this he was mistaken. The Poles gave him the first serious rebuff. Till then he had passed from one triumph to another as if by magic, without having to fight. The mere blast of his trumpet had enabled him to recover the Rhur, to re-militarize the Rhineland, to annex Austria, and to rape Czechoslovakia. But the Poles had the cheek to fight his irresistible armies. What was even more serious was that their resistance led to the declaration of war against Germany by Britain and France. And Hitler preferred to take his hurdles singly. So he vented all his concentrated venom on the Poles.

It was in Poland that Hitler first carried out on a large scale his deliberate policy of murderous depopulation. Starvation, mass executions, and deportation were put into operation with the express purpose of virtually destroying the Polish people. One of the German gauleiters in Poland gave his assurance that the Polish State would never rise again, though some Poles might be allowed to live in order to slave for their German masters. Early in 1940 it was decreed that all landed property in the annexed territory of Poland would be confiscated; in the General Government landed property could still be owned by Poles, but subject to expropriation by the German authorities, whenever these deemed it

expedient to expropriate it. An order was issued for the dismantling and breaking up for scrap of all factories not required for German war purposes; and for the compulsory deportation of a million agricultural and industrial workers to Germany. In Poland itself, compulsory labour for the whole Polish population of the General Government, over fourteen years of age, was introduced already in October 1939. All the economic resources of the country, as well as its man-power, have been systematically exploited for the exclusive benefit of the conquerors, while the native population, or as much as has been left of it, has to subsist on rations at about starvation level.

The only use which the Germans have for the Polish people is that of a reservoir of cheap labour to be used up and scrapped in the service of the masterfolk. For this purpose the Poles need no education worth mentioning. Quite the contrary, a Polish intelligentsia could only be a source of danger to German overlordship. After all, Hitler had once declared, 'two Germans are worth more than all the millions of Poles'.¹⁰⁶ 'The Poles', according to Governor-General Frank, 'need neither universities nor schools', and Poland can be changed into 'an intellectual desert'. 'The Polish people', said Gauleiter Forster, at Poznan, 'means for us man-power, and nothing else'.¹⁰⁷

At the time of the German invasion Poland had 1659 nursery schools, 28,881 elementary schools, 789 secondary schools, 2085 vocational schools or classes, 641 continuation classes, and 28 institutions for higher education (i.e. universities or institutions of university rank). The vast majority of all these institutions have been closed, destroyed, or converted to other uses.

The only sort of education which the Germans permit for the Poles is an elementary technical training which will make them useful for various trades without any chance of their becoming experts capable of competing with their German masters. 'It is the will of the Führer', according to Governor-General Frank, that the Poles should 'become a community of labourers and peasants ; we don't need a Polish intelligentsia ; we have enough of our own'. The courses of instruction vary with the local German economic requirements. In some of the areas which the Germans have formally annexed to the Reich, like the Warthegau, there are not even elementary schools for the Polish children. The Germans evidently meant to deport or to destroy the Polish population there. In the General Government territory a number of Polish elementary schools were allowed to carry on, but were seriously handicapped. The buildings are periodically requisitioned for German soldiers or police. The classrooms are not heated even in the coldest weather. Subjects like geography and history are officially banned. There is a shortage of teachers, many of whom have been deported. There is an entire lack of school books, as the old ones have been destroyed by Nazi orders, and no new ones have been published. Nevertheless, the Polish children are not entirely neglected. Many thousands of them are receiving education secretly from patriotic Poles working in the underground movement ; and many of the old school books, forbidden by the Nazis, have been reprinted for use in this work. Even school certificates are awarded to pupils who have attained the required standard.¹⁰⁸

Except for a certain amount of work in connexion with it that was done secretly in Poland, and a good deal

that was done in other countries for Polish students who managed to escape from the Nazi net,¹⁰⁹ Polish higher education was blacked out by the Germans as soon as they seized Poland. But it is desirable to record what the Germans have done to the various Polish universities and similar institutions, in so far as the facts are known at present.

The University of Cracow is the oldest in Poland, and one of the oldest in the world. It was founded in 1364, and has a distinguished as well as a venerable record. On November 6, 1939, the teachers of the university were asked to attend a lecture by Major Mayer on 'The Attitude of the German Authorities to Science and Teaching'. About 200 teachers attended, including the oldest professors. Major Mayer merely bullied them for their antagonism to Germany, and for their lack of discipline in opening the university without first obtaining permission from the German authorities. 'For this offence', he concluded, 'you will be sent to a concentration camp'. About 180 teachers were thereupon arrested, and sent first to a military prison, next to the barracks in Lobzow, then to Breslau, and finally to the concentration camp in Oranienburg, where the Commandant welcomed them with the words: 'Here you will obtain a proper education'.¹¹⁰ Thirty of the younger teachers were subsequently transferred to the camp in Dachau. The world knows quite enough about conditions in German concentration camps, so it is not necessary to describe the gruesome details. Within a short period eighteen of the Cracow professors died as the result of brutal treatment. They included such distinguished scholars as Professor Estreicher, former Rector of the University of Cracow, and Professor

Kostanecki, former President of the Polish Academy of Science. As a concession to world-wide protests against these and similar outrages the Germans released 103 of the Cracow University teachers in Oranienburg, but many of them were physical wrecks after their 'proper German education' there, and some of them died from the effects of this 'education', soon after their release. The Cracow University building was converted by the Nazis into an institution for collecting information about the mission of Germany in East Europe throughout the ages.¹¹¹ The Nazis also planned to open a new university in Cracow for German students. The famous Czartoryski Museum in Cracow was closed, and its treasures were removed to Germany. The art collection of the Potocki family was likewise confiscated.¹¹² The equestrian statue of King Wladyslaw Jagiello, in Cracow, was destroyed. It had been presented by Paderewski on the 500th anniversary of the Polish defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg, and was naturally humiliating and offensive to the Nazis, whose faked version of German history admits no such set-backs for the 'invincible' German soldiers.

The German treatment of other Polish universities and higher educational institutions was not less terrible than their treatment of Cracow. The University of Warsaw (founded in 1818) inevitably suffered severely during the siege of the city, and during the recurrent fighting that has been going on there. Some of the teachers lost their lives during the military operations, others had to face German firing squads, many more perished during the mass shootings by the Gestapo, and many were arrested or deported.¹¹³ The University, or what was left of it, was closed. The Curie-Sklodowska

Radium Institute in Warsaw was looted by the Nazis, who appropriated the precious gramme of radium which American women had presented to Madame Curie, and which she gave to the Radium Institute. In spite of the tragic conditions of their existence, the students in Warsaw somehow managed to retain their sense of humour, as the following incident shows. In one of the squares in Warsaw there is a statue of the famous astronomer Nicholas Copernicus, who is described on it as 'The Pole'. The Germans, having annexed the Polish town of Torun, where Copernicus was born, consider themselves entitled also to the credit for the great astronomer. So the Nazis substituted 'German' for 'Pole' in the inscription on the statue. The Poles chipped it out during the night. As a reprisal, the Nazis destroyed the statue of the Polish patriot Kilinski. A few days later the following poster appeared all over Warsaw: 'I, Nicholas Copernicus, Polish astronomer, hereby order the lengthening of the Russian winter by two months as a reprisal for the destruction of the Kilinski statue'.¹¹⁴

At Poznan the University professors were arrested. Their homes and their other property, including their private libraries, were confiscated, and they were deported to the General Government, where they were left to fend for themselves as best they could. Some of them succumbed to their terrible experiences. The Polish University was closed in 1940. But in 1941 the Nazis reopened it as a university for German students. Professor Carstens (Chairman of a Board for German Colonization) was appointed Rector of the new university, and he described its function as the study of 'the entire Eurasian field'¹¹⁵—presumably an outpost of Nazi 'Geopolitics'. There was some difficulty about finding

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living accommodation for the students, and the Burgo-master had to order the registration of available rooms. In the course of one year (1941-2) the number of teachers had increased from 36 to 66, and the number of students from 175 to 405, and was expected to rise soon to 1000.¹¹⁶ Not content with the ending of the Polish University in Poznan, the Nazis also closed the Raczynski Library there, at least to Polish students; and fears are entertained for the safety of the valuable historical material contained in that Library.¹¹⁷ It is significant that one of the leading Nazi papers, when enumerating the larger *German Libraries*, included in its list those of Cracow, Poznan, and Warsaw.¹¹⁸ It is known that in 1941 a valuable Polish library in Plock was plundered by the Nazis, and some 50,000 volumes, including 100 MSS. of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were removed to the University Library at Königsberg.¹¹⁹

The University of Lwow (Lemberg) fared no better. Of its staff some sixty were arrested, and their fate is not known. Professor Casimir Bartel, who was Professor at the Technical College there, and at one time Prime Minister of Poland, was executed by the Nazis because he refused to collaborate with them. The University of Lublin was destroyed by the German bombardment; and the Nazis would not allow it to be rebuilt, or to be restarted provisionally elsewhere.

Early in 1944, when Hitler was in urgent need of armies to meet the Russian invasion, he commissioned Governor-General Frank to negotiate with Polish anti-Communist elements. The talks took place in Cracow. Much had changed since 1939. Among the baits offered for the formation of a Polish army under German officers to fight against Russia was the re-opening of secondary

schools and universities. This bait, like the others, failed, of course.¹²⁰

Reference has already been made to the commandeering by the Germans of all kinds of educational institutions for all sorts of purposes. One case of what happened in Poland may be cited as a revolting example. In Tremblanka the classrooms of a large educational building were fitted with high-tension electric wires. Six or seven hundred Jews, stripped naked, were thrown into these electrified rooms. After some minutes, piles of bodies were removed from the building and reduced to ashes.¹²¹ This was but a small matter compared with the German 'death factory' at Oswiecim, where numerous gas chambers and three crematoria dealt with 10,000 victims a day, and have already destroyed more than half-a-million people.

Having turned Poland into a wilderness, the Nazis described it as 'the best example of the New Europe under the direction of Greater Germany'.¹²² It is certainly the best warning.

CHAPTER XIII

RUSSIA

IN the annals of international treachery there is not much that will stand comparison with Germany's behaviour to Russia. During the First World War it was the Germans who sent Lenin and his fellow-conspirators to disrupt Tsarist Russia. Germany claimed her reward in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, to say nothing about the Treaty of Bucharest.¹²³ The victory of the Allies saved Russia from paying the colossal price. But Germany remembered how nearly she had satisfied her *Drang nach Osten*, and the memory only whetted her appetite for more, much more. It was this mood that gave Hitler his chance. Hitler, moreover, learned a great deal from Bolshevik methods, much more even than he learned from Mussolini. The extent to which the Nazis copied Bolshevik methods is evident from the exactness with which Hitler's description of Bolshevik Russia, as he saw it, fits Nazi Germany (see p. 3). With his usual cunning, however, Hitler fiercely denounced Bolshevism, and by persistent propaganda created such a widespread fear of this bogey that many well-to-do people in all the democratic countries looked upon Hitler's 'steadfast young Nazis' as 'the saviours of Europe'. In this way Hitler not only succeeded in pushing ahead with his war preparations unhindered, but repeatedly violated the terms of the Peace Treaty with impunity, and planted bands of helpful fifth columnists in nearly all countries. When he was on the point of attacking Poland, and wanted

to secure his flank, he staged with audacious mendacity a friendly alliance with the Russians, whom he had called 'the scum of the earth'. But when, after the fall of France, and the evacuation of the British army from the Continent, Hitler considered it safe to do so, he made war on Russia without any warning. Contrary to the views of the politicians whom Hitler had so easily duped, it is the Red Armies who are in large measure 'the saviours of Europe' from 'the steady young Nazis'. For some years, however, vast areas of Russian territory had to be yielded to the Nazi hordes; and we are concerned here with what happened to the educational institutions in these areas during the German occupation, so far as the facts are known at present.

To the Germans Russia had long been Naboth's vineyard. Hitler was fond of making German mouths water by telling them: 'If the Urals with their incalculable wealth of raw materials, the rich forests of Siberia, and the unending cornfields of the Ukraine lay within Germany, under National Socialist leadership, the country would swim in plenty'.¹²⁴ To secure this extension of German 'living space', these territories must be depopulated, the Slavs must be replaced by German settlers. So, as the Nazi armies advanced, the local populations were massacred on an appalling scale, only enough being allowed to survive to serve the immediate needs of the Nazis for forced labour. The Germans organized expert murder squads called 'Special Commandos' who carried out a systematic annihilation of the Soviet population, especially of its intellectual leaders. They visited all the concentration camps in order to liquidate what they called undesirable elements.¹²⁵

Some of the Russian cities which the Nazis never

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captured suffered nevertheless great damage from bombardment or air-attacks ; and educational institutions inevitably suffered along with the other buildings. Thus in Leningrad, for instance, the University, the Academy of Arts, the Academy of Science, the Anthropological Museum, the Russian Museum, the Suvurov Museum, and the Engineers' Palace were all either destroyed or severely damaged.¹²⁶ Similar losses were inflicted on Moscow in the region of which the Germans also destroyed 947 schools, 54 kindergartens and crèches, and 159 hospitals. The bombardment of non-military objectives was bad enough, but the Nazis revealed their nature most by the deliberate atrocities which they perpetrated without the shadow of a military excuse. The following cases will make this clear.

Perhaps the best-known victim of German barbarity in Russia is the city of Kharkov. The Germans inaugurated their rule here, in December 1941, by slaughtering the entire Jewish population of some 24,000 souls. The colleges, the research institute, the museums, the libraries were all closed and boarded up. University teachers, scientists of great reputation, famous architects, and surgeons were set adrift to starve. So they spent their time and what little energy they had making matches, cigarette lighters, or shoe-polish, or stitching bedroom slippers or patching up old rags to sell in the streets, or to carry them to distant villages to exchange for bread or lard. The Germans soon turned all this labour into a source of profit for themselves, by forcing the workers to hand over the goods at fixed prices to special Nazi officials, who sold them at a handsome profit. An eyewitness reports : ' I have seen noted engineers chop wood for the Germans merely for half a bowl of soup, and

professors of physics repair cigarette-lighters, whilst women doctors peeled potatoes in German kitchens, and teachers were employed as laundry women. It fed German vanity to have Russian intellectuals serving them in this way'.¹²⁷

The scientific laboratories in Kharkov were ransacked by a special 'Economic Commando' consisting of officers with a scientific training. All valuable apparatus was removed to special storehouses for subsequent despatch to Germany. Other apparatus or equipment was broken up by German soldiers and thrown away. The laboratories of the famous Kharkov Physico-Technical Institute, noted for certain experiments on the breaking up of atomic nuclei, were turned into a wine store. When Germans wanted fuel for their fires, they just used any books they could lay their hands on. They also made bonfires of numerous books which were removed by the Nazis from public and private libraries and from bookshops because they were on Hitler's 'Index of Prohibited Books', which included the works of Gorky, Tolstoy, all Soviet, Jewish, and Ukrainian-Russian authors. Books from the Korelenko Library, in Kharkov, were laid out on the muddy roads to facilitate the movement of German motor cars!¹²⁸ The only 'High School' in Kharkov that was permitted to continue its educational work to some extent was the Agricultural Institute, which was attended mainly by Russo-Ukrainian Germans and members of 'good families'. For other youths the Germans had a very different use, for which no higher education was necessary. A press gang was organised to supply Germany with slave labour. Closed vans would pass along the streets. When young people were encountered, German soldiers jumped out of the vans,

seized their victims and carried them off without leaving a trace. A few elementary schools were allowed to carry on, but were quite ineffective. The Soviet books were destroyed by the Germans, and no others were provided. Moreover, many of the teachers had fled, because they would not consent to train the children to become Hitler's willing slaves. When, in 1943, the Germans had to evacuate Kharkov the Storm Troopers deliberately set fire to the Medical School and many other schools.¹²⁹

Odessa was at first occupied by the Roumanians, Hitler's satellites. It was not until a short time before its evacuation that the Germans took possession. Nazi plans were followed anyway. To begin with, the University of Odessa and all the other institutions for higher education were closed. In the course of 1942, however, Roumanians bethought themselves of Hitler's familiar method of exploiting local differences of race, history, culture, or religion for the disintegration of opponents, so as to secure mastery over them. With this aim in view, the University of Odessa, and other educational institutions were reopened. They were used mainly for spreading Nazi doctrines. Specially modified forms of Nazi racial theories were taught which were deliberately designed to appeal to the vanity of the Ukrainians and White Russians. In this way the occupying authorities hoped to create a new anti-Bolshevist intelligentsia to co-operate with the Nazis. Pressure was brought to bear on the students to acquire a knowledge of Roumanian, on penalty of expulsion within a year. The intention was to convert Odessa into a kind of gay Bucharest, with numerous restaurants and gambling dens. Up to the time of the fall of Stalingrad the Roumanians confidently expected to retain Odessa for good, and they tried to

convert the young Odessa people into good Roumanians by the use of both bribes and penalties. Privileges were offered to the willing ; the Gestapo (or Siguranza) dealt with the others. Largely in consequence of this flirtation with Odessa the majority of the young people of Odessa escaped deportation to Germany or elsewhere. They also escaped conscription in the army of occupation, because the Roumanians did not trust them yet. Like the Germans, the Roumanians could not resist the temptation of loot. And they looted the library of the University of Odessa, and the science laboratories, as well as the collection of costumes in the Odessa Opera House, which was really more to their taste. When the Germans eventually occupied Odessa they knew they could not remain there long. For one thing, there were too many partisans there for their comfort or safety. These partisans numbered in their ranks not only Russians, but also many Alsatians, Poles, and Slovaks who had deserted with their arms from the German army. They were well armed and supplied in the extensive limestone catacombs under Odessa. The Germans used their short stay to prepare all the more important buildings for destruction. But the partisans saved many of these buildings by secretly removing the mines laid by the Germans.¹³¹

In Kaunas, the capital of Lithuania, the University and certain other schools were closed, and subsequently used as hospitals. Many professors, doctors, lawyers and other intellectuals were arrested. The University Library was robbed of 23,000 volumes ; and 10,000 volumes were taken from the State Library. The archives of the Faculty of Law, of the Academy of Science, and of the Academy of Music were wantonly destroyed by

the Gestapo, who thus vented their chagrin at their failure to induce the Lithuanians to raise a 'volunteer' legion for the 'Nazi Crusade against Bolshevism'. Similar treatment was meted out to Vilna, the other important university city in Lithuania. The University was closed. Gestapo gangs smashed or looted all the apparatus in the Academy of Science and in the Academy of Medicine. The Academy of Arts was ransacked. Manuscripts for a Lithuanian dictionary, which it had taken forty years to collect were deliberately burnt; and 2000 gramophone records of Lithuanian folk songs were destroyed.¹³²

Kerch is memorable for a particularly barbarous atrocity—particularly barbarous even for the Germans. The local German Commandant ordered the parents to send their children to school. In compliance with this order, 245 children went from their homes to school. But they never returned home. After the liberation of the town their bodies were found in a deep ditch five miles from the town. They had all been shot by the Germans.¹³³

In Kiev the University and the Museum were seized, and their contents were wilfully destroyed or looted. Millions of books were burned in public. Even the Monastery of the Caves, the most revered of the religious institutions of Russia, was callously devastated. The frescoes adorning the gables were removed; and the marble from the refectory walls was taken away to be used in Germany.¹³⁴

In Orel, educational institutions, hospitals, theatres and other cultural establishments were transformed into a mass of ruins; and bodies of children who had been buried alive were found in ditches. There were mass

abductions of Soviet citizens for forced labour in Germany.¹³⁵

In Smolensk many professors and scientific workers perished. The Germans either blew up or burnt down the educational institutions; looted museums, art and historical collections; and wrecked churches which were fine old monuments of Russian architecture.¹³⁶

The foregoing cases are but a few examples of what the Germans have done to education in the Soviet Republics of Russia. Looting and spiteful destruction went on all over the German-occupied areas in Russia on a colossal scale. In Berdichev the History Museum was destroyed. In Pavlovsk and Pushkin, in the Leningrad area, many art treasures were seized and sent to Germany, and buildings housing them were wrecked. What is particularly noteworthy is that the looting was not the work of excited or dare-devil soldiery, but was worked to a carefully elaborated plan drawn up by German scholars and experts with their notorious 'thoroughness'. A Berlin paper has actually boasted of the care with which 'cultural works and treasures of historical and artistic value' were collected from Russia 'for a long time'. It mentioned Kiev and Leningrad as among the chief areas from which cultural monuments were removed. It stated that among the treasures removed from Krasnogodeisk were 400 paintings, portraits of Tsars and other figures of the Imperial Russian Court, and a unique 'globe which a German Prince presented to Peter the Great'. It also mentioned that valuable historical and cultural objects had been removed from Novgorod, including particularly precious ikons from the cathedrals, ancient manuscripts, many rare Russian books, and early prints, as well as

numerous other volumes to a total of about 34,000 items.¹³⁷

Perhaps the stupidest and most outrageous act of vandalism against Russian culture, and one that will long continue to rouse the most widespread indignation, is the one that was perpetrated against the Tolstoy Museum. 'The irreplaceable relics connected with the life-long work of Tolstoy, all his manuscripts, books, and pictures, were either stolen by the German soldiers, or thrown away and destroyed.' A German officer, a blackguard appropriately named Schwarz (Black), used the furniture and the books of the great writer as fuel for heating. When one of the staff of the Museum begged him to use firewood instead, Schwarz replied: 'We don't want firewood, we shall burn everything connected with the name of Tolstoy'.¹³⁸ What respect for literary genius could be expected from a henchman of 'the apostle of illiteracy', who has brought it about that 'the language of Goethe and Heine has been supplanted deliberately by a coarse vulgarization of German chosen for its appeal to the lowest instincts of the population' ?¹³⁹

CHAPTER XIV

YUGOSLAVIA

HITLER had succeeded in luring Prince Paul, the Regent of Yugoslavia, into his parlour, and persuading him to join the Axis Pact. Realizing that this meant the virtual enslavement of their country, young King Peter, supported by his people, courageously repudiated the Axis Pact on March 27, 1941. There followed a desperate struggle against overwhelming odds. German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian armies invaded the country. Like birds of prey the four partners in crime swooped down upon their victim and rent Yugoslavia in pieces. Large parts of the country were annexed by the several invaders. The rest was annexed in a more veiled kind of way. Part of Serbia was set up as an 'Independent Serb Government' under the leadership of General Neditch, who was just a puppet of Hitler. Similarly, part of Croatia was proclaimed an 'Independent Croatia State' under a Government headed by Pavelic, a mercenary gangster whom Mussolini is reported to have employed when staging the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in 1934. The Duke of Spoleto was nominated King of this puppet state of Mussolini's, but the Duke wisely never set foot in it. Montenegro too was set up as a separate State under Italian 'protection', and with an Italian Governor General. The setting up of these so-called 'independent' States or Governments, like the setting up on an 'independent' Slovakia in the case of Czechoslovakia, had for its sole

aim the permanent disruption of the country by stimulating feuds between its different racial and religious elements, so as to simplify the task of the conquerors. Bulgaria and Hungary made no attempt to disguise their annexations. But whatever form their occupation took, the four occupying powers agreed in the kind of measures they carried out against the Yugoslav people. These measures may be briefly described as a mixture of denationalization, nazification, deportation, and cold-blooded massacre. The Yugoslavs continued to resist, in one way or another, in spite of terrible handicaps. Under the inspiring leadership of Marshal Tito they eventually triumphed over the barbarous invaders, and Belgrade the capital of Yugoslavia was liberated on October 20, 1944. For more than three years, however, the country was under the ruthless control of four predatory powers who did their utmost to make their victims forget that there ever was such a country as Yugoslavia. We may now consider the measures taken in the principal areas in relation to education.

In 1937 Yugoslavia had a population of about sixteen millions. It had five universities, seven high schools of university rank, some 190 secondary schools, and about 9000 elementary schools. The universities alone had more than 18,000 students, and there were over 150,000 pupils in the secondary schools. There were also a number of vocational schools for agriculture, commerce, and industry. The educational ideal which the Government of Yugoslavia set before the teachers was to train their pupils 'in a spirit of national unity and religious toleration so as to make them loyal and active members of the State and of society'.

Italy's ambition to turn the Adriatic sea into an Italian

lake had received some encouragement when, in 1919, she was allowed to annex the Yugoslav provinces of Trieste, Gorica, and Istria. In 1941 Italy saw an opportunity to fulfil her ambition. 'Dalmatia for the Italians' had long been one of Mussolini's favourite slogans; and that was only a small part of his predatory projects against Yugoslavia. So Dalmatia was promptly seized by the Italians, and within a few days some 2700 professors, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and other intellectuals were arrested and, later on, taken to the island of Lipari, where they were left to die. In Split (re-christened Spelano) Professor Gamulin was arrested and flogged to death, and 700 others were seized and sent to the South of Italy. Croat schools in Dalmatia were ordered to be Italianized, and Croat teachers were replaced by Italian teachers. The Croat Catholic Seminary was closed. Croat monuments were systematically destroyed.¹⁴⁰

During the years between the two World Wars Italy had plenty of practice in the murderous method of Italianizing Slavs in the Yugoslav provinces which she had acquired by a secret 'deal' with the Allies when these felt it necessary to bribe her.¹⁴¹ A very large proportion of the male population of these Slav provinces and of the adjoining annexed areas was now either deported for compulsory labour in Italy, or interned in concentration camps near Bologna and on the Adriatic Island of Rub. The internees included numerous students and other intellectuals. The pupils in the senior forms of the secondary schools in Ljubljana were deported wholesale. Those sent to the concentration camps were not tried or even charged. And the attempts made by International Relief Societies, like the Red Cross, to help the internees in their terrible straits were rebuffed on the

specious ground that these Slav internees were 'Italian citizens', with whom no foreign interference could be permitted.¹⁴²

In the so-called Croat Independent State conditions were no better. Serbs and Jews were debarred from all educational institutions. Pavelic assumed the right to appoint the Rector and the Deans of Faculties in the University of Zagreb; and pursued a policy of nazification in the whole educational system. Only nazified youths (Ustashi) and the Moslem minority could claim educational facilities. Many of the Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina were closed; others had to carry on with very few teachers because so many of the teachers had left 'for political reasons'¹⁴³—a euphemism for concentration camps, shooting squads, etc.

Dalmatia, however, maintained a spirit of resistance, which was stimulated by the Dalmatian-born poet Vladimir Nazor. When Pavelic founded a new Croat Academy of Sciences he invited Nazor to join it. But the poet joined instead the partisans who were resisting the enslavement of Yugoslavia. In an eloquent manifesto, which was widely circulated, he appealed to his countrymen to fight their foreign foes and native traitors until they could restore freedom and independence to a reunited Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁴

In the territory of the old Kingdom of Serbia the Germans took charge. They felt a special rage against the Serbians, because these were believed to have played the principal part in the rejection of the Axis Pact in March 1941. It was reported that during 1941 more than 500 Serbian students (including some women students) were shot on charges of conspiracy and sabotage. In Kragujevac all the teachers and pupils of the three

senior forms in the secondary schools were murdered by machine-gun fire. Admission to the University of Belgrade was restricted to those having 'social and ethical qualifications' (in other words, to those who were good Nazis). Many of the professors of the University were arrested and imprisoned. So were a great many of the students. A favourite German device was to accuse teachers or students of being 'communists', and shoot or imprison them. Unintentionally a Nazi paper paid a tribute to the patriotism of the students when it complained that 'Serbian students were, and are still, the leaders of destructive elements'. Many of the schools in this province were closed.

Slovenia was divided between the Germans and the Italians. Deportations of population took place on a large scale. It was reported that in the course of one year (1941-2) some 10,000 school children were deported to Germany alone. The Germans closed all Slovene schools in Southern Styria. The Italians abolished all student organizations. They also dissolved the *Sokol*, the national sports organization, which nevertheless managed to do its share in the national Liberation Movement. Many of the teachers and students were deported or put into concentration camps, or shot. Some escaped to join one or other of the fighting organizations. The Nazis were particularly anxious to Germanize the region between the German frontier and Ljubljana, which they wanted as a corridor to the Adriatic. The Slav names of towns and villages were replaced by German names. German was made the official language. The use of Slovene was prohibited even in church.

Hungary annexed the Bachka, a part of the Vojvodina between the Danube and the Tisa. This Serbian area

contained a small Magyar minority. Hungary also annexed the Croat area of Baraina and Medumurie. The Hungarians proved themselves worthy partners of the Nazis and the Fascists. They murdered numerous Serbian teachers and students, hanging many of them at Pancevo, in 1941. 'At Horgos all the Serbs were murdered and the premises of the English Club were set on fire. In Subotica, innumerable students and school children were rounded up and immediately shot in front of the Grammar School.' They sought to Magyarize the annexed areas by the methods of depopulation sanctioned by Hitler and Mussolini, and all the other Huns that had preceded them.

Bulgaria annexed the greater part of South Serbia as far as the river Vardar. In this area the whole Yugoslav civil and ecclesiastical administration was replaced by a Bulgarian administration. Serbian schools were closed, and all Serbian books and newspapers were banned. Numerous Serbians were killed, many were expelled or escaped. The rest were to be Bulgarized by means of Bulgarian schools, books, newspapers, and by compulsory membership of Bulgarian social and political organizations. Many of the Serb professors of the University of Skoplje, and many of the teachers in the secondary schools were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Students and school children were reported to have been shot. The Bulgarian language was the only language permitted.¹⁴⁵ All told, the Bulgarians were quite up to the standard set by their partners in crime.

By her efforts, her will to live, Yugoslavia, though frightfully scarred, has managed to survive. Remarkable as has been her struggle for physical existence, a special word of praise is due to her patriots for their further

efforts to save the soul of the people by providing something in the way of education under extremely arduous and dangerous conditions. While the life-and-death struggle was still being waged, a system of itinerant teachers was organized from schoolmasters in the ranks of Marshal Tito's army. Each of them made himself responsible for several Partisan groups hidden in mountains or forests. With the aid of some of the Partisans in each group he formed a 'school community', which he directed. The journey from one group to another involved great personal danger, and cost many lives.¹⁴⁶ But the torch of learning was kept burning, and will assuredly help to light the path of Yugoslavia's imminent renaissance.

Already before their complete liberation the people of Yugoslavia gave evidence of a new spirit that promised well for the country's future. Marshal Tito's movement succeeded in uniting the Socialist, Christian Socialist, and Communist parties with numerous Liberals and Progressive Catholics. The old feuds between the different races and creeds in Yugoslavia were replaced by a spirit of co-operation. Practically all parts of Yugoslavia and all sections of its people were represented on a joint Anti-Fascist Council. And it is significant that as certain parts of Slovenia were liberated, autonomy was granted to the Italian minority there, and their deputy was co-opted on the National Liberation Committee.¹⁴⁷

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

THE foregoing account has dealt with only some of the events in the latest and most tragic chapter in the history of the martyrdom of man. It provides much food for thought even if one confines himself mainly to the educational problems which it raises. Pre-Nazi Germany enjoyed the reputation of being the best educated country in the world. Apparently it had a most efficient system of education; it had a larger output of scientific, philosophical, and theological literature than any other country; and it had more 'general readers' of serious books than any other population of its size. Yet this most educated people has shown itself to be also the most criminal people on the face of the earth, except perhaps the Japanese. It would seem, therefore, that bookishness, scientific knowledge, and technical skill, which constitute such a large part of what is commonly called education, does not necessarily develop decency of character.

It was not for want of truly great and good teachers that the German people went wrong. Kant, Lessing, and Herder, to say nothing of lesser men, were among the world's foremost modern exponents of genuine humanism and sound internationalism.¹⁴⁸ But, except for window-dressing, the Germans had no use for these teachers. They preferred the rabid nationalism of Fichte, who promulgated the conceit that the Germans alone constituted a nation. They preferred Hegel, who

glorified war, and upheld it as the final arbiter between states. They preferred the Machiavellism of 'blood and iron' Bismarck, who Prussianized Germany. They preferred Treitschke, who hallowed the Prussian 'mission' of domination and conquest.¹⁴⁹ German professors of history, anthropology, sociology, and law vied with each other in advocating the non-morality of state-craft as the last word of political wisdom. Even the outstanding German liberal of the twentieth century, Professor Max Weber, a world-famous sociologist, regarded the 'Power State' as 'the supreme law' in human affairs.¹⁵⁰

Attempts have been made to exonerate the German people as a whole from responsibility for Nazi crimes, on the ground that once Hitler seized power all possibility of opposition disappeared, as was shown by the number of anti-Nazis who have been killed, or interned in concentration camps, and the number of those who have only escaped such a fate by flight from Germany. It would be strange indeed if in a population of so many millions there were not many thousands who were opposed to Hitler's tyranny. But this does not exonerate the German people as a whole; and there are several considerations which are definitely opposed to such exoneration. Nazism was not something new in Germany; it was only the culmination of pre-Nazi German theory and practice. The Germans in Czechoslovakia had nothing to fear from Hitler or Himmler, yet they spontaneously became Nazis, and helped Hitler to disrupt the State to which they belonged in order to enable him to seize it.¹⁵¹ The Germans in South America had and have nothing to fear from the Gestapo, yet of their own accord they have not only done all they could to help the Nazis, but they

are already preparing for another German war of aggression in the event of a German defeat in the Second World War.¹⁵² Even the German refugees in the Allied countries, though loudly denouncing Hitlerism, are nevertheless clamouring for the eventual restoration of a strong military Germany—like the one which has so recently ended in Nazism.¹⁵³ No, there is something peculiarly aggressive and brutal in the German people as a whole. If they are left to re-educate themselves, as was done after the First World War, the same kind of result, only worse, will follow sooner or later. Only by treating Germany as a vast reformatory school, conducted with intelligence and with strict discipline *in the arts of peace*, can there be any hope of a decent Germany and a peaceful world. But Germany is not the only country that needs remedial treatment.

If it is true that the Nazi evil-doers could not have risen to power in Germany if the German people as a whole had been decent, it is also true, though perhaps not to the same degree of culpability, that there would not have been a Nazi Germany if the other Powers had shown a greater moral concern than they did. Weakness frequently encourages wickedness. It was the moral weakness of the other countries that encouraged the wickedness of Nazi Germany and her partners in evil-doing. The number of actual native Nazis or Fascists in the other countries may not have been large, though too large in any case, but there was too much indifference among the mass of the people to the sufferings inflicted by the Nazis and the Fascists on their victims in Germany and Italy and elsewhere. The main facts are too familiar now to need recital. Failure to prevent the Second World War, failure to take the right measures at the right time was

due not so much to ignorance or shortsightedness as to moral turpitude.¹⁵⁴

To some extent this widespread moral weakness may be explained by factors like those in the case of Germany. The pre-Nazi system of German education was essentially similiar to the system prevalent in other countries. If it failed to save the Germans from barbaric tendencies and influences, it is not altogether surprising if it also failed to strengthen the moral fibre of other peoples. What, then, is defective in the ordinary system of education ?

Generally speaking, education concentrates too much on knowledge, and concerns itself too little with wisdom, in the sense of the wise conduct of life. Knowledge and skill are instruments, and like all instruments may be used for good or for evil. In the absence of wisdom, knowledge and skill may readily become instruments of wickedness, such as the Nazis and Fascists have deliberately made them. But even in countries in which such prostitution of knowledge is abhorred, education may nevertheless fail to achieve its proper end through intellectual and technical one-sidedness. ' Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers '.

In some ways the evil has been fostered by a common misunderstanding, and consequent misapplication, of what is called ' the scientific attitude of mind ' . For many decades now science has enjoyed a tremendous reputation. Its achievements in the practical world were obvious to everybody. People appreciated the numerous amenities of life which resulted from scientific discovery and technical invention ; and, as commonly happens in such cases, they saw endless future benefits, and nothing but good coming from science and technics. They had

not yet seen the devastation of London, or Coventry, or Rotterdam, or Berlin, or Hamburg, etc., or the systematic experiments with human guinea-pigs, which are also the fruits of science and technics. Actually, of course, science is morally neutral. A good man will make good use of it ; a wicked man will make evil use of it ; and science as such is not concerned with the kind of use that is made of it. Now, one result of the great reputation enjoyed by science nowadays is that every kind of investigator is anxious to be considered a man of science, and to employ what he conceives to be ' scientific methods ', without sufficient regard for the real nature of his subject-matter. And much distorted history, anthropology, sociology, and jurisprudence result from sheer misunderstanding. In science, brute facts are of primary and fundamental importance—they constitute the starting-point, the test, and the end of all scientific hypotheses and theories. To some extent respect for facts is a *sine qua non* in every kind of study and activity. But when dealing with human life and conduct respect for moral ideals is in some ways even more important than regard for brute facts. One may even go so far as to say that the knowledge of facts of any kind acquires truly *human* significance mainly in so far as it helps to promote the realisation of the right kind of human ideals. The anthropologist, historian, sociologist, or jurist who thinks he is ' scientific ' because he describes and explains human beings just as if he were a zoologist describing amoral animals, is really just about as scientific as would be a physicist who dealt with matter as if it had no gravity. But the tendency of such teaching is to discount morality and to glorify success, no matter how it has been achieved—to glorify, say, the ' cleverness ' of Bismark, and con-

done his murderous dishonesty, or to praise the success of Hitler and ignore his unparalleled wickedness. One result of this tendency is something that would be very amusing if it were not so serious, namely, some of the experts and institutions specially concerned with the study of contemporary history and international relations, the very 'watchmen' who should have warned the public in time against the impending catastrophe, were so easily duped by Mussolini and Hitler that unwittingly they actually did propaganda for them,¹⁵⁵ and thereby intensified the moral somnolence of democracies, which made them such easy victims of the Nazi-Fascist vampires.

The urgent need of infusing some moral inspiration into the established system of education is now widely admitted. The problem is how to do it. A policy that has received strong backing is that more attention should be given to 'religious' teaching in schools and colleges.¹⁵⁶ By 'religious' the advocates of the policy under review usually mean 'Christian'; and by 'Christian' some mean 'Church of England', some 'Roman Catholic', others mean 'Methodist', etc. etc. Some don't mind which kind of religion, as any kind of religion seems to them to be better than none. The history of the Churches gives little support to the view that they can be trusted to impart the moral inspiration desired. Catholic priests and Protestant parsons were among the most ardent supporters of Hitler and Mussolini; ¹⁵⁷ the Papacy did big business with Fascism, blessed its mustard-gas treatment of the Abyssinians, and commended the corporative State. It is idle to look to the Churches, and more especially the Church of Rome, for a cure from the Nazi-Fascist evils. History and biography do not reveal any real connexion between theological theory and moral

practice. And the conflicts between the Churches, their competitive rivalries, and their mutual intolerance are not exactly desirable models of the moral relations between human beings. 'Religious feelings and ideas', says a distinguished religious philosopher, 'have not brought peace to mankind. Religious differences seem rather to have fed and sharpened their conflicts.'¹⁵⁸ Even in democratic and liberal countries there is a marked tendency for the different 'religious' communities to practise a kind of Nazi-Fascist autarchy, restricting economic and social relationship to their own adherents, and applying a kind of economic and social sanctions against the members of other Churches and against 'atheists'. The studied aloofness of the Roman Catholic Church from other Christian Churches is notorious. So far from delegating to the Churches the task of effecting a moral uplift of the people a wise Government would exercise sufficient restraint on the Churches to prevent the teaching of the exclusive salvation of their own followers, and the consignment of all others to damnation or to a position of inferiority. The conceit of a 'religious' master-community is not more tolerable than is the conceit of a 'racial' masterfolk.

Reduced to its simplest terms the problem now confronting mankind is, from an educational standpoint, not so complex as to demand any theological or philosophical aids. There is no need to wait for a consensus of opinion among theologians and philosophers, even if it were not so hopeless to expect such a consensus of views. What is the cause of the present world catastrophe? The answer seems plain enough and simple enough. The Fascists and Nazis showed an utter disregard for human life. In fact they loudly proclaimed their contempt for the life of the individual.¹⁵⁹ And other peoples, even

the most democratic peoples, did not for a long time feel sufficient regard for human life to take effective action to prevent or to stop the destruction of human life caused by those wholesale 'family butchers'. Like Cain, the first murderer on record, many an isolationist the world over protested: 'Am I my brother's keeper'? When imminent danger threatened their own lives and the lives of their own people these isolationists became reconciled to a total war against the total destroyers. But it is doubtful whether even now they have any deep concern for human life as such, and everywhere. What wonder, considering that the head of the 'universal' or Catholic Church only added incense to Mussolini's mustard-gas!

The basic moral cause of the present catastrophe was, therefore, partly a brutal contempt for human life, partly insufficient respect for it. If the recurrence of such a catastrophe is to be prevented, then it is necessary to inculcate a due regard for human life everywhere. The moral seems simple enough; and the task should not be beyond the competence of mankind, if only the powers that be in the leading countries take it sufficiently seriously. The leaders of the United Nations evidently do take it seriously; and the Atlantic Charter shows their appreciation of what is implied by respect for human life. But it still remains to be seen to what extent their vision will be accepted and implemented by their peoples when the captains and the hosts have departed, and the moral consternation excited by the threat of overwhelming catastrophe has subsided.

If there is to be any real improvement in human affairs, then 'Respect human life' must be made the first and fundamental commandment, whatever else may be added to it. It is an old Commandment, of course; and to some

people it will seem a small thing. But it is not so. Think of the human lives that have been sacrificed, and are still being sacrificed in wars and in certain industries. International Law still contains no prohibition of war, and prescribes no penalty for those who wantonly originate such organized mass murders. Almost every country under the sun still flaunts some beast or bird of prey as its national emblem. Wars, moreover, have been so frequent that some people regard them as 'natural' to man. No, respect for life is not a small thing; and the serious concerted implementation of the imperative to respect life will be the greatest revolution in human history, and the greatest step forward in human progress.

The advance can and should be made as a secular or common-sense moral measure, without reference to theological dogmas or to philosophical argumentation. In almost every department of human endeavour there are certain postulates or fundamental principles beyond which it is impossible to go. That human life has intrinsic value or worth, is such a moral postulate. The duty to respect human life is such an ultimate imperative. If anybody has any convictions at all this will be one of them. With people who have no convictions, who regard everything merely as a subject for the display of forensic skill, it is no use arguing in any case. What is required is not argument but the persuasive power of a good example for those who have a moral sense, and the application of adequate sanctions against those who violate the moral imperative. Only the sanctions must be applied universally without regard to political frontiers.

It would be unwise to ask the Churches to support the above policy. They have violated it too often. People without number have been tortured, burned at the stake,

or otherwise murdered for blasphemy, or in order that their souls might be saved for a life hereafter. Each such case was a violation of the imperative to respect human life—and only the more revolting because perpetrated in the name of God, the Father of all, and for the sake of life in another world, while the Churches themselves with all their professed other-worldliness took every care to look after their own mundane interests.¹⁶⁰ There is much to be said for a religion that does not consist mainly of outworn creeds and crude anthropomorphisms, but seeks to keep alive the hope that life is not 'a tale told by an idiot', and that human endeavour is not all in vain. But the first duty of man is to value human life, his earthly life, for its own sake. God or no God, a hereafter or no hereafter, human life must be respected. Admittedly it is the business of each secular Government to provide for the security and well-being of the citizens of its State. This function is not usually delegated to the Churches. There is no reason why a co-ordinated comity of nations should not be able, by their united efforts to protect and promote the interests of mankind as a whole without inviting the interference of organizations which have hitherto hindered rather than helped the growth of a sense of the unity of mankind, which is the foundation of peace on earth, goodwill among men.

Respect for human life certainly implies sufficient freedom to make the best of life. But just as respect for the life of any individual is dependent on his respect for the life of others, and does not exempt him from just punishment for endangering or injuring other lives, so legitimate freedom is dependent on due regard for the freedom of others. Unfortunately 'freedom' has become

a kind of shibboleth. The emotional effervescence with which it has become charged as the result of many centuries of struggle against tyranny has sometimes served to darken counsel, and led to failure to take timely action against the plotters of new tyrannies. The toleration of fascist movements during the pre-war years in all democratic countries has shown the dangers of such inertia, and should serve as a warning for the future. These movements provided Hitler and Mussolini with the quislings and fifth-columnists who served as death-watch beetles to rot the timbers of many ships of State. No Government should tolerate such rotters. They should be dealt with as burglars are usually dealt with, and seized as soon as they begin 'loitering with intent to misdemeanour', instead of being given freedom and protection to undermine the legitimate freedom and security of others. Freedom to destroy freedom is freedom's suicide.

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